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S J A C I R P E R A N G M E N G K A S A R

(a critical edition with notes and commentary)

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Thesis submitted to obtain the degree of Ph.D in Arts

in the
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A P R I L 1 9 6 1.

A B S T R A C T

The text presented here is that of a Malay poem, hitherto known as the "Sja'ir Speelman", whose original title, it is suggested, was the "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar".

Evidence is adduced to show that the poem, which relates the story of the war between Macassar and the Dutch East India Company, in the years 1666 to 1669, was composed by a certain "Entji' Amin", the Sultan of Gowa's secretary, whose existence as a historical personage is confirmed by contemporary Dutch records. A point of interest about one of the only two mss. of the poem that appear to have survived is that it was probably copied by Cornelia Valentijn, the wife of the scholar François Valentijn.

In the notes, some attempt has been made to compare the sja'ir's narrative of events with the facts as recorded in contemporary sources, Dutch, Macassarese and English. The comparison reveals that the author has given a substantially accurate account of the opening stages of the war, but has probably relied on second-hand evidence for his account of the latter part of the campaign.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SJA^SIR

In the text-books, the 17th century in Indonesian history is often referred to as the 'Dutch' century and treated in terms of the activities of the largest and best-organized of the European trading companies in the archipelago, the Dutch East India Company.⁽¹⁾ This 'European-centric' approach⁽²⁾ (derived in part from a scarcity of easily available non-European sources) has inevitably tended to create an exaggerated impression of the part played by the VOC,⁽³⁾ and conversely, to obscure the part played by the great Indonesian Sultanates of Mataram, Bantam and Macassar, among whom the VOC was not so much 'facile princeps', as 'primus inter pares'.

The VOC had, of course, made itself a power to be reckoned with in the east of the archipelago as early as the first decade of the century, when it had established itself in the islands whose spices provided the Company's shareholders with such satisfying compensation for the hazards of speculation, and succeeding decades saw a small factory at Djakarta turn into the Batavia headquarters of a commercial 'empire' stretching the length of the archipelago. This empire was, to a considerable degree, based on a monopoly of the spice trade and was thus, sooner or

later, bound to come into conflict with Macassar, a state which, like Holland, was just entering its 'golden age'.

Situated almost exactly half-way between Batavia and the Moluccas,⁽⁴⁾ Macassar,⁽⁵⁾ well-known as a victualling station for the ships of all nations, had just begun to flex its muscles in the struggle to replace Ternaté as the dominant power in the east of the archipelago.⁽⁶⁾ Perhaps stimulated by its conversion to Islam very early on in the century, Macassar soon embarked upon a successful policy of aggrandisement, the expenses of which were borne partly by its conquests and partly by the profits from the rich trade in spices of which Macassar was rapidly becoming the largest entrepôt. Any form of independent trading in spices was, of course, a direct threat to the VOC's policy of monopoly and, given the temper of the two parties concerned - the VOC had men like Coen, who can politely be described as 'ruthless', while the Macassarese had the reputation of being the "Haentjens van het Oosten"⁽⁷⁾ - it required no gift of prophecy to forecast that sooner or later both sides would resort to war. The first of these wars came about in 1616.

The VOC had set up a factory at Macassar as early as 1609 and was by no means pleased when, some four years later, the Sultan of Gowa, anxious to play off the one

European Company against the other, had given an even warmer welcome to its great rival, the English East India Company.⁽⁸⁾ The VOC soon became alarmed at the inroads the Macassarese were making upon the spice trade and asked the Sultan to refrain from trading with the Spice Islands. By way of answer, the Sultan is reported to have made the magnificent reply: "God created the land and the sea: the land he divided out amongst men, but the sea he gave to all. No one has ever tried to forbid men the sea. If you do so, you will be taking the bread out of our mouths - and I am not a rich King."⁽⁹⁾ One might perhaps have expected the Dutch to appreciate sentiments strikingly similar to those enunciated by their own eminent jurist only a few years earlier:⁽¹⁰⁾ instead - and the parallel with 1945 is by no means a distant one - they declared war. The war dragged on fairly uneventfully until 1637, when van Diemen, on his way back from pacifying South Ceram, had 'shown the flag' in some strength at Macassar and thereby persuaded the Sultan to sign a treaty by which Macassar agreed to recognise the VOC's interests in the Spice Islands.

However, the spice trade provided the Macassarese - not only private traders there, but also, via customs duties, the Macassarese oligarchy⁽¹¹⁾ - with such a source of profit that it was not long before Macassar was once

again functioning as the biggest independent spice market in the archipelago, and growing rich and powerful on the proceeds. So powerful indeed that it was able to give both moral and material assistance to the rebels against the VOC in South Ceram and Ambon. In 1653, de Vlaming van Oudshoorn called at Macassar on his way to Ambon and tried to obtain from the Sultan assurances that he would respect the provisions of the 1637 treaty, but all that the Sultan would vouchsafe by way of answer was a letter for the Governor-General in which he asserted that Macassar too had rights in Ceram and Ambon. Governor-General Maetsuycker and his Council took the letter as a *casus belli* and declared war on Macassar on 21st October 1653. The following year saw Macassar blockaded, and in 1655 another treaty was drawn up, but the satisfaction derived from it by the VOC may be gauged from the fact that in 1656 the Governor-General and Council could write "... dat wij ons niet en mogen rusten of verlaten op de praesente tellequelle Macassarse vrede...".⁽¹²⁾ Exasperated by successive breaches of the treaty, Maetsuycker finally sent the Sultan an ultimatum, only to receive a whole series of counter-demands, including the demand that the VOC should raze the fortifications they had set up on Menado. The VOC at once prepared for war and in 1660 an

expedition of 31 ships and 2600 men was put under the command of Johan van Dam and sent to Macassar (where the advance-guard had the satisfaction of defeating a fleet of 6 Portuguese ships found in the Macassar roads.)

When the main body of the expedition arrived, the fleet sailed off towards the north, drawing away the bulk of the Macassar army, while van Dam and the troops landed to the south of Macassar, capturing the fort of Panakukang. The Sultan was forced to ask for an armistice and eventually to sign a treaty, the main points of which were that Macassar was to leave Buton, Menado and the Spice Islands well alone, the Portugues were to be expelled from Macassar (where the VOC was to have "continueele residentie"), while Macassar was to pay the costs of the war. Only if all these conditions were complied with was the captured fort of Panakukang to be returned.

In the event, Panakukang was not handed back, but destroyed, on the grounds that the conditions of the treaty had not been complied with. The Sultan was obviously reluctant to enforce the clause about the expulsion of the Portuguese. At the time, Portuguese influence on Macassar was still quite strong - most of the Macassar court, including the Sultan's favourite,

Karaéng Karunrung,⁽¹³⁾ spoke Portuguese - and, in fact, after the fall of Malacca in 1641, Macassar had become the centre of Portuguese trade in the archipelago. Although some of the smaller Portuguese traders left, the bigger fish (such as Francisco Viera) stayed on, and it was not until the VOC played its trump card - the Macassarese hostages taken to Batavia after the 1660 campaign - that the stipulation was enforced and the Portuguese compelled to leave.

This "diplomatic" success was hardly likely to improve VOC-Macassar relations, which grew steadily worse. In 1662, the VOC ship, "De Walvis", was wrecked off the coast of Macassar and her guns stolen. At the same time however the VOC was giving shelter to Bugis such as Aru Palakka⁽¹⁴⁾ who were rebelling against their Macassar overlords. At the end of 1663, Jacob Cau was sent to Macassar for discussions, but although Cau found Hasanuddin,⁽¹⁵⁾ the Sultan of Gowa, in a conciliatory mood, the Sultan was nevertheless naturally annoyed at the assistance being given by the VOC to his rebellious subjects. The Sultan further complained that the Sultan of Ternate⁽¹⁶⁾ (the VOC's puppet) had signed over to the Radja of Buton (Ternate's nominal vassal), the island of Muna (Pantsiano) to which Macassar laid claim.

In the circumstances, the discussions in fact achieved precisely nothing, and at the end of the year occurred the incident that was to provide the casus belli of the 1666-1667 war when the VOC yacht "De Leeuwin" ran aground on one of the islands off Macassar. The Dutch representative in Macassar, Verprest, was refused access to the wreck, and shortly afterwards it was reported that a great deal of freshly-minted Dutch currency was circulating in Macassar. Verprest then (without asking the Sultan's permission) sent his 'onderkoopman' in a sloop to inspect the wreck, but the sloop was attacked and the crew killed. Governor-General Maetsuycker decided to make one more attempt at negotiation and on November 20th 1665, Jo(h)an van Wessenhagen was sent to discuss matters with the Sultan. The mission was as unsuccessful as its predecessors and van Wessenhagen returned to Batavia to report that the Macassarese were preparing to send an expedition against Ternaté. The Governor-General and Council decided that the time had at last come to take firm action, and on November 24th 1666 some 21 ships and 600 Dutch troops (together with Bugis and Ambonese auxiliaries) set sail from Batavia. Johan van Dam, who was to have been in charge of the expedition, refused at the last moment, and the command was entrusted

to a former Governor of the Coromandel Coast called Cornelis Janszoon Speelman.⁽¹⁷⁾

It was this expedition whose ships were sighted off the coast of Macassar on December 19th 1666 and it was its commander, Speelman, who, more than any other man, was to be responsible for breaking Macassar as an effective political force. The breaking process was to last, with a brief interval, for almost three years, and it is the bitter and bloody fighting that took place in those three years, as seen from the Macassar side, that forms the substance of the *sja'ir* presented here.

With such a theme, our *sja'ir* can scarcely avoid possessing a certain historical value, a value that is neither enhanced nor decreased by the fact that the medium in which the work is composed is poetry and not prose. It is true that adherence to a particularly complicated metrical structure may result in obliquity of thought or presentation,⁽¹⁸⁾ but then, really complicated metres are not those most commonly chosen as the vehicle for narrative verse of any length, and 'complicated' is hardly the right word to describe the metre in which virtually all Malay narrative verse is written in - the *sja'ir* metre.⁽¹⁹⁾ Indeed it might well be said that the only difficulty presented by the *sja'ir*-metre is its

extreme simplicity,⁽²⁰⁾ which demands a certain degree of ingenuity on the part of the writer if he is to avoid boring his audience.⁽²¹⁾

The idea then that a Malay poem, merely because it was a poem, would be any less factual, any less historical, than something written in prose, is not likely to have had much meaning for Malay society prior to the present century. Rather in the way the Greeks of Pericles' time regarded Homer not only as a poet, but also as a reliable historian of the Greek past,⁽²²⁾ so the Malays would not discriminate between prose and poetry on the grounds of the latter being less 'historical' than the former. If any distinction at all was made, it was probably between written literature and oral literature, the tendency being to exalt the value of whatever was written at the expense of whatever was 'merely' spoken, without reference to a text.

However, to grant that the Malay 'historical' *sja'irs* are neither more nor less historical than the prose "sedjarahs", "salsilahs" etc., is not, of course, to suggest that their reliability is at all comparable with the works of modern specialist historians. Von Grunebaum has written that the weakness of (medieval) Arabic historiography lies in "...its concentration on personalities and on military incidents and court cabals",⁽²³⁾ and his remarks apply as

much, if not more, to Malay historiography. So much so, that it is misleading to use the word "historians" of writers who so consistently "missen de kritische zin",⁽²⁴⁾ and it would perhaps be better to use the term by which the medieval historians of Europe are referred to and call them "chroniclers". For, like their European counterparts, the aim of the Malay chroniclers was not only to give an account of what had happened, but to give it in such a way as to delight the hearts and rejoice the imagination of their prospective patrons and audiences. On the reliability of the medieval chroniclers of Europe, Runciman writes "Every medieval historian, whatever his race, invariably indulges in wild and picturesque exaggeration whenever he has to estimate numbers that cannot easily be counted",⁽²⁵⁾ reminding one irresistably of the "wild and picturesque exaggeration" used by the author of the "Sedjarah Melaju" in his description of the passage of the army of Radja Suran on its way to attack China.⁽²⁶⁾ Writing for a society less sceptical than our own both Malay and medieval European chroniclers were naturally reluctant, as devout believers, to ascribe any finite term to the marvels that God, in his infinite wisdom, had seen fit to bring about. Less than a hundred years ago we find Radja 'Ali al-Hadjdj (who has some claim

to be regarded as the first Malay historian, in the modern sense of the word)⁽²⁷⁾ discussing the likelihood of the Bugis princes being descended from the Queen of Sheba in a passage in which his historical scepticism seems to be fighting a losing battle with his pious credulity.⁽²⁸⁾ Writing against a historiographic background of this nature, it is not surprising if our author reveals serious shortcomings as a historian, in the modern sense of the word.

The most heinous of these shortcomings is his almost complete neglect of the economic factors underlying the war. As the Sultan of Gowa's secretary, he should certainly have been aware that the reason the VOC had already fought three wars with Macassar (and were prepared, if necessary, to fight a fourth) was to stop Macassar playing an independent role in the spice trade and selling to the VOC's European rivals.⁽²⁹⁾ He should certainly have known that one of the most important clauses of the 1660 Treaty was the expulsion of the Portuguese from Macassar.⁽³⁰⁾ As the copier (and perhaps even the drafter) of the 1667 Bungaja Treaty,⁽³¹⁾ he must have known that the most important clauses of the Treaty were those relating to the expulsion of the English East India Company and Macassar's unconditional acceptance of the VOC monopoly of the archi-

pelago's trade.⁽³²⁾ And yet the only clauses of the Treaty mentioned in the sja'ir are those relating to the amount of compensation to be paid,⁽³³⁾ and the cession of the fort at Udjung Pandang.⁽³⁴⁾

Again, he may or may not have known that the average price of cloves (per 'pond') in the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC (which, in the ten years before 1660, had remained fairly stable at around f3.00) had, by 1665, shot up to over f6.00,⁽³⁵⁾ but - if only as a member of the 'Malay' community of Macassar⁽³⁶⁾ - he must have realised quite well the implications of the rise. And yet the only mention of spices in the sja'ir is of 'lada tumbuk' being used to flavour a sambal!⁽³⁷⁾

Similarly, we shall look in vain for any appreciation by the author of the tactical or strategical features of the campaign such as Macassar's 'internal lines' position or the attempts to get Bantam to intervene in the war and thus divert the attention of the VOC on its western flank.⁽³⁸⁾ Thus, the rather daring 'indirect approach' strategy involved in sending Aru Palakka and Captain Poleman to stir up revolt in Macassar's hinterland⁽³⁹⁾ is passed over in silence by our author who is concerned with one thing, and with one thing only: the way the Macassarese (in particular the Macassarese Malays) conducted themselves in the fighting.

With the war thus viewed exclusively through Macassarese eyes, the author makes no claim to be objective in his approach to his subject, writing as a member of a society for whom objectivity would have been only too easily interpreted as moral cowardice. Secure in the knowledge that his beliefs (and prejudices) are shared to the full by every member of his audience, the author sees no point in approaching his subject-matter dispassionately and as a result his personal feelings often overflow into his narrative of events. When, for example, he reviews the behaviour of the VOC after the signing of the Bungaja Treaty ("melihat fi'il Nasrani djembalang"),⁽⁴⁰⁾ the emotions of the author (and all right-thinking members of his society) are promptly expressed:

"hatiku panas bukan kepalang",⁽⁴¹⁾

and, when the enemy - the party of the Wrong - try to make out that they weren't really frightened, one can almost hear the indignation in the author's voice as he bursts out:

"Pembohongnja sangat kafir Nasrani
mengatakan dirinja sangat berani".⁽⁴²⁾

And as one might expect, when his fellow-Malays charge into the attack, he cannot restrain his exultation but bursts out:

"Melajupun sabas orang berani
menempuh ketumbukan Buton Nasrani".⁽⁴³⁾

The war thus tends to be seen in terms of a black and white contrast between Right ('our side') and Wrong (the enemy), which accounts for the note of anathema that often creeps into his description of the VOC and its allies. Such terms as "Welanda sjaitan",⁽⁴⁴⁾ "si la'nat Allah",⁽⁴⁵⁾ "Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil",⁽⁴⁶⁾ "Welanda iblis",⁽⁴⁷⁾ "Kapitan murtad",⁽⁴⁸⁾ "Welanda kuffār",⁽⁴⁹⁾ "Welanda kafir jang bain",⁽⁵⁰⁾ which are the rule rather than the exception, obviously imply a definite religious antagonism. It is, however, important to interpret such epithets in the spirit of the author's age and not in that of our own. Taking for example the line quoted above

"Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil",⁽⁵¹⁾

we have (leaving aside the word "Amiral") three words of a descriptive nature - "kutuk", "kafir" and "bachil" - which might reasonably be translated as 'cursed', 'infidel' and 'greedy' respectively. To-day, the word 'cursed' has lost most of the terrifying menace that caused our own ancestors - contemporaries of the author of "An Essay concerning Human Understanding" - to execute, by due process of law, those suspected of cursing their fellow men and women,⁽⁵²⁾ while the word 'greedy' has become a not particularly strong expression of disapproval (often tinged with envy) - a far cry from the Avarice, that, as one of the Deadly Sins,

could blight a man's very real hopes of attaining heaven. On the other hand, the word 'infidel', that perhaps jars most on us to-day (brought up to regard all mention of religion as being in rather bad taste) was probably used as a straightforward descriptive term (with little suggestion of ill-feeling to 'place' a man in the social structure of the day.⁽⁵³⁾ Hence, while the Muslim allies of the VOC are held up to derision ("Bugis jang dusta",⁽⁵⁴⁾ "Ternaté hantu"),⁽⁵⁵⁾ the infidel allies of the Macassarese, the English Factors, are described in the not entirely unfavourable terms:

"sungguhpun ia kafir jang bengis
hatinja betul tidak waswis."

Summing up, it might be said that the 'dogmatic' nature of the author's insulting epithets is typical of individuals holding (whether from conviction or mere conformity) 'totalitarian' views on Good and Evil, and in passing we may note the interesting parallels between the author's "Welandan andjing",⁽⁵⁷⁾ "Ternaté hantu",⁽⁵⁸⁾ "si Buton haiwan" ⁽⁵⁹⁾ etc., and the 'imperialist running-dogs', 'capitalist ghouls', 'fascist swine' etc., used by our contemporary totalitarian societies to express conventional disapproval of views contrary to established dogma.

Accepting then the author's insults for the convention they are, and making allowance for his necessarily subjective

approach,⁽⁶⁰⁾ the picture of the fighting that emerges from his narrative is remarkably close of that given by European historians, easily the most authoritative of whom is the late Dr. F.W. Stapel.⁽⁶¹⁾ 'Remarkable', because Stapel (who has been criticised by Dutch historians for having too 'Batavia-centric' an approach to the history of Indonesia)⁽⁶²⁾ based his account almost entirely upon VOC sources.⁽⁶³⁾ One would therefore expect to find a considerable difference between Stapel's version and that presented in our sja'ir, whose author (as the quotations above show) must be regarded as a decidedly anti-VOC source. The fact that the two versions, if not identical, are recognisably the same, speaks volumes for the accuracy and impartiality of Stapel; it also shows that the sja'ir's author is not entirely lacking in these same qualities.

As to his accuracy, it is interesting (in the light of complaints such as Runciman's quoted above) to see how he fares 'whenever he has to estimate numbers that cannot easily be counted.' A good example is provided in v.37a where he tells us that the number of troops taking part in Speelman's expedition was:

"Tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu jang muda-muda..." In Speelman's own "Instructions" (given to him one day before the expedition sailed) the VOC force is given as "...500 duytsen en 300 inlandse soldaeten...",⁽⁶⁴⁾ i.e. a total

of 800 soldiers. In the circumstances, the discrepancy between the two figures is strikingly small. Again, the number of ships taking part in Speelman's expedition is given by the author as:

"Delapan belas kapal jang besar".⁽⁶⁵⁾

Leaving aside the qualification implied in "jang besar", the author's figure of 18 compares not unreasonably with the 21 deduced by Stapel⁽⁶⁶⁾ (and stated by the Macassar Court Diary)⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the 19 ships listed both in Speelman's "Commission" and in his "Instructions".⁽⁶⁸⁾

In his description of the fighting the author is not above using conventional expressions and in v.365, for example, he tells us:

"Kepala laki-laki seperti anak keti
dikerat oleh jang berbadju rantai
tidaklah terbilang Buton Ternate
habislah ber(gu)lingan sependjang pantai."

but expressions such as "seperti anak keti" and "tidaklah terbilang" contain the conscious metaphorical exaggeration present in an English phrase such as "the place was an indescribable shambles", used to describe an untidy room, for when, in the verse following, he comes down to brass tacks and tells us just how many heads were thus lopped off, the figure given:

"Tiga puluh tiga kepala Weland
dikerat pahlawan jang muda-muda..."⁽⁶⁹⁾

is certainly not one that smacks of 'wild exaggeration'.⁽⁷⁰⁾

His 'accuracy' and 'impartiality' should, however, always be read against contemporary standards of historiography for, like Homer (but unlike Stapel) he can occasionally be caught nodding. The arrival of the VOC before Macassar in December 1666, the abortive negotiations that followed, the VOC expedition to Buton and the defeat of the Macassarese army there in January 1666, the subsequent visit by the VOC fleet to the Moluccas, the suppression of the Bugis rising in February 1667 -⁽⁷¹⁾ all this is described in substantially accurate detail. But after the return of the VOC fleet from the Moluccas (in July 1667), inaccuracies begin to creep in. The reason, as the author apologetically explains is:

"Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta
fakir nin lagi diluar kota
gharib mendengar chabar berita
saja perbuatkan suatu tjerita." ⁽⁷²⁾

i.e. that from that point on he had to rely on second-hand evidence⁽⁷³⁾ and hence, as he explains in v.205-206, his account might well be improved upon. Certainly from this point on, his chronology of events is often difficult and sometimes impossible to reconcile with that authoritatively given by Stapel.⁽⁷⁴⁾ And the whole of Speelman's second campaign (April 1668 to June 1669) is dealt with rather

perfunctorily, (75) almost as though he had begun to lose interest in the poem.

Occasionally his account impresses us as being more ingenious than convincing. His description of the Treaty of Bungaja and the cession to the VOC of the strong point at Udjung Pandang, viz:

"Sukalah hati kafir jang dusta
tertawa-tawa ia berkata
di Udjung Pandang suatu kota
berilah pindjam kepada kita.
Itupun diberi oleh Keraéng
sebab katanja dipindjam sembahjang...." (76)

is one that finds no echo in any contemporary source. But such 'face-saving' is rare; the author makes little attempt to gloss over the (fairly numerous) Macassarese reverses.

When the Dutch storm Bantaéng, he reports:

"Tiadalah fakir berbanjak kata
gharib ta' mau berbuat dusta
karena téwas perangnja kita
dapatlah benténg dimata-mata." (77)

and the conduct of the Macassarese defenders on this occasion is told in equally blunt words:

"Antara selang berapa hari
habislah orang di Bantaéng lari
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
tjerai-berai membawa diri." (78)

Again, when the Dutch effect a successful landing at Batu-Batu, he relates:

"Lamanja tidak berapa hari
bénténg Welanda sudah terdiri
luputlah akal bitjara dan budi
Mengkasar tidak mengeluari lagi." (79)

and goes on to record one Macassarese defeat after another.⁽⁸⁰⁾
In doing so he makes no attempt to cover up the fact that the Macassarese suffered heavy losses:

"Perang tidak lagi berhenti
Mengkasar dan Tuwadjo' banjaklah mati" (81)

and that the Macassarese were forced to surrender the field to the enemy, retreating, sometimes more or less 'according to plan'

"diapun undur membawa diri
dihambat Meluku Bugis pentjuri" (82)

but sometimes in downright flight:

"Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji
Mengkasar dihambat Bugis pentjuri
perangnja sampai sentengah hari
lari ke Gowa membawa diri." (83)

It is true that his account usually depicts the Macassarese as fighting with courage and determination of a high order, but that this was no more than the simple truth is borne out in virtually every one of the dispatches of the

enemy commander-in-chief, who, in one of his reports to the Governor-General and Council, describes the fighting as so terrible "als crygers van hoogen ouderdom misschien in Europa selve niet dickwils gehoort hebben." (84)

His often contemptuous references to the bravery of the VOC's allies, should, for the most part, be taken as conventional disparagement of his enemies, but on occasions the insults become so pointed as to force us to investigate their background. Thus, in describing the fighting at Batu-Batu, he is particularly contemptuous of the cowardice displayed by the Butonese, remarking:

"...gentar putjat muka si Buton
kepada air masin iapun terdjun.
Tiadalah habis hamba katakan
patahlah perang Welanda sjaitan
seorangpun tidak lagi bertahan
gentarlah dagu si Buton haiwan." (85)

from which it would appear that, while the allied army was soundly defeated, the Butonese played a particularly ignoble part in the fighting. It is therefore with some interest that Speelman's own account of the action is extremely critical of the fighting abilities of the Ternateans and Butonese, who, says Speelman, fought "als eerlose bloode schelmen". (86)

Although convinced (as we have seen) that his enemies are fighting on the side of Evil, he can yet spare time to comment on their bravery:

"Kapitan Amiral sangat berani
mendjadi penghulu kaum Nasrani
berperang tidak tertahani
dihambat Mengkasar kesana sini."(87)

their efficiency:

"Datanglah kapal Kapitan Djongkor
menembakkan meriam bagai diatur..."(88)

and on their 'coolness under fire':

"Kapitan Djepon sangatlah dingin
menembakkan meriam dengan tjermin..."(89)

and he can, at the same time, comment - discreetly, of course - on the failings of the Macassar High Command:

"Sultan keluar ketika esok
diiringkan Mengkasar dengan Tuwadjo'
berdjandji dengan Radja di Telo'
mendapatkan Welanda kaum si Tunderu'.
Radja di Telo'pun tiada datang
baginda memandang adalah pusang..."(90)

Not the least interesting feature of the sja^cir is the author's treatment of Speelman's action in casting away 5000 surrendered Macassar prisoners-of-war on an island, thus

condemning them to a lingering and horrible death by starvation. Stapel, the modern historian, devotes a long and rather defensive footnote to the incident (in which he shows how reluctant his hero was to act in this fashion).⁽⁹¹⁾ The sja'ir's author devotes but a single verse to the incident,⁽⁹²⁾ in which he curses the Dutch and Bugis roundly (and conventionally), and then proceeds briskly on with his narrative. One might perhaps claim that one of the services performed by the sja'ir is to bring home to us the sometimes forgotten fact that Speelman and his enemies were far closer in temperament and had much more in common than Speelman and his modern biographers.

From what has been written above, it is clear that such historical value as the sja'ir possesses lies mainly in confirming, rather than refuting, the picture of events already established.⁽⁹³⁾ In view of the sja'ir's undoubted age, even this rather limited value might seem more than sufficient to justify its choice as the subject of a thesis.⁽⁹⁴⁾ There are however other features about the sja'ir that have some claim to our critical interest, not the least of which is the possibility offered by the sja'ir of identifying its author as a definite historical personality - the Sultan of Gowa's secretary, Entji' Amin.

Who is, or was, this Entji' Amin? The sja'ir tells us that after the conclusion of the Macassar Council of war held to discuss Speelman's ultimatum:

"Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Entji' Amin dipanggil membuat surat
bunjinja baik tiada jang ghalat
kalam muchtasar tiada dibuat.

Entji' Amin itu orang jang bidjak
tubuhnja sedang sederhana pandak
memakai minjak dengan kelembak
baunja harum amat semerbak

Entji' Amin itu djangan disaju
nisab Mengkasar anak Melaju
lemah lembut badannja aju
laksana taruk angsoke laju."(95)

From these verses it is clear that Entji' Amin was Hasanuddin's 'writer', who not only composed, but literally wrote, the various treaties concluded by Hasanuddin as Sultan of Gowa and Ruler of Macassar. And confirmation of Entji' Amin's status is provided by the Dutch copy of the treaty that put an end to the fighting which states: "Op heden verschenen wederomme daijen Macoule, sabandaar, crain Mamoet..... et den schrijver Amien".(96)

In this treaty, Entji' Amin (there can be little doubt

that "Entji' Amin" and "de(n) schrijver Amien" are one and the same person) is listed as the last and least significant of the Macassarese representatives attending the signing of the treaty, which is what one would expect in view of the relatively lowly status of a writer or secretary. It is therefore worthy of note that although the author of the *sja'ir* has (in vv.44-63) described some eighteen leading figures of the Macassar court, not one of the Karaéngs, Daéngs or Datu's thus eulogised is given as much space as that devoted to the comparatively insignificant Entji' Amin (in the three verses quoted above). This fact suggests some special interest taken by the author of the *sja'ir* in Entji' Amin, particularly in view of the rather 'personal' nature of the description given.

Again, the contents of the poem show that its author had a detailed knowledge of 'who was who' in the Macassar of the time, not only in court circles,⁽⁹⁷⁾ but also in commercial circles;⁽⁹⁸⁾ few people would have a better knowledge of such matters than the Sultan of Gowa's secretary. As "a Malay of Macassarese descent",⁽⁹⁹⁾ Entji' Amin would be a member of the 'Melaju' community that seems to have played a large part in Macassar's trade and had such a lot to lose from a Dutch victory.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ It is therefore not surprising to find that one of the chief concerns of the author of the

sja'ir is to 'highlight' the part played by the Malay community, whose exploits are recorded at much greater length than are those of the Macassar nobility. Apart from the attention devoted to Entji' Amin himself, it is interesting to compare the account of the death of the Macassarese Karaéng Patté'né' (101) (deputy commander of the Macassar expeditionary force against Buton) with that of the son of the 'Malay' (102) Djuru Datjing (103) (something like a Customs Supervisor). The Karaéng's death and burial are given just over two verses; that of the Customs Supervisor's son, just over eight.

An additional item in the chain of circumstantial evidence linking the author of the sja'ir with the Sultan of Gowa's secretary is provided by the "Maleytse missive door den Coningh van Macassar aen den gouverneur generael ende de Raeden van India geschreven" that was received in Batavia on March 18th, 1669. (104) This letter, of which the Dutch translation survives, contains phrases that often seem to echo certain of the sja'ir's verses. Thus the sja'ir's:

"Duduklah Bugis di Udjung Pandang
sehari-hari ke Sambo(pu) berulang-ulang
segenap kampung mengambil orang
sekalian Bone kembali pulang.

Semuanja itu menaruh dendam
 melihatkan laku Bugis djahanam
 sabarlah ia sekalian diam
 sekadar sendjatanja dipertadjam."(105)

may be compared with the letter's:

"... ende noch, soo zynse veel malen in 't fort Samboppo gekomen en hebben de slaeven van de luyden naer haer eygen believen weghgenomen; alsmede in de forten Tello en Goa hebbense insgelycks 't volck haer slaeven ontnomen; doch dit hebben Siery Sulthan⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ en 't volck stilswygende laten doorgaen en verdraegen, schoon wy al de Bougis, die voorhenen genomen, weder gegeven hadden..."⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Bearing in mind that the letter is a translation from a Malay original, the similarity of its phrasing with that of the sja'ir is surely more than coincidental. For the obvious person to write a letter in Malay for the "Coningh van Macassar" would be his secretary, Entji' Amin, "den schrijver Amien", whom Dutch records show as acting as the Sultan's secretary at the signing of the treaty concluded on 29th July 1669,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ less than a year after the letter had been written.

The 'Bibliotheca Marsdenia' gives the name of the author of the sja'ir as "Inche Ambun",⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ an attribution almost certainly based upon the statements

"Entji' ā-m-b-n empunja karangan" ⁽¹¹⁰⁾

and

"Entji' ā-m-b-n empunja kalam" (111)

In the light of the facts given above it is suggested that in both these lines (and they occur only in S - probably the latest ms.) the copyist has misread "ā-m-b-n" ("Ambon") for an original "ā-m-î-n" ("Amin"), the difference between the two readings being literally no more than a tittle.

Such a mistake would be the easier to make in that the word "Ambon" has occurred a dozen times in the verses preceding these lines.⁽¹¹²⁾

Moreover, v.134b, where the text certainly demands "Ambon" but the copyist has nevertheless written "Amin", supplies us with proof of his ability to confuse the one reading with the other.⁽¹¹³⁾

All in all, there seems sufficient evidence to identify the author of the sja'ir as the Sultan of Gowa's 'writer' or secretary, Entji' Amin.

It is obvious that, occupying such a position, our author must have been a man of considerable worldly experience. Less obvious perhaps are the indications that he was also interested in spiritual affairs, in particular with the unorthodox type of Sufism associated with the names of Sjamsuddin of Pasai and Hamzah Fansuri. Indeed, certain of the phrases used in our sja'ir would appear to have been 'borrowed' from the sja'ir's of the Sumatran mystical poet.

One has, of course, to be on one's guard; so limited is our knowledge of Malay literature (and so wide-spread the fame of Hamzah Fansuri) that any type of religious doxology is apt to recall the latter, and phrases such as occur in v.6:

"sungguhpun dahulu njatanja (kelam)
daripada pantjarnja sekalian 'alam"

need not necessarily be inspired by Hamzah's

"itulah Ahmad awwal nabînja
nûr Allah dengan sutjinja
sekalian 'âlam pantjar daripada nûrînja
mendjadi langit serta buminja." (114)

However, the bold, even 'heretical' statement:

"Rahim itu suatu sifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi zat" (115)

does (particularly in view of its implication) seem very close to Hamzah's:

"Rahmân itulah jang bernama sifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi Dzât".

And when the Sultan of Gowa is described by our author as:

"Sjahi 'alam radja jang 'adil
radja chalifah sempurna kamil
wali Allah sempurna wasil
lagi 'arif lagi mukamil." (117)

it is difficult not to see a direct parallel with Hamzah's

"sjâh 'âlam radja jang 'âdil
radja Qutub jang sampurna kâmil
walî Allah sampurna wâsil
radja 'ârif lagi mukamil." (118)

It seems likely then that the author was acquainted with Hamzah's work. It seems certain that he was acquainted with the type of Sufism described in the verses quoted above viz. that practised by the "ahl al-wudjūdijjah", whose pantheistic tendencies were so fiercely contested by the author of the 'Bustān al-salātīn'. (119) That such Sufism flourished in 17th century Macassar, we know from the career of the Sufi 'saint', Sjaich Jusuf, whose tomb is still one of the most famous 'keramat' locations in the archipelago. (120) If not himself a member of the Macassar royal family (as rumour had it), Sjaich Jusuf - a contemporary of our author and his master - certainly enjoyed the highest esteem in Macassar court circles on account of his religious teachings and it is then not without interest to note that, in the verse quoted above, (121) our author has described the Sultan of Gowa in terms that might well be used of the local Head ("Chalifah") of a Sufi order. (122) The evidence is, however, too slight to allow of a definite conclusion to be drawn; what concerns us here is that our author is obviously using the words

"kamil", "wasil", "ʿarif" (i.e. "ʿarif bi'llah") and "mukamil" (Arabic: mukammal) as part of the technical vocabulary of the Sufi mystic. (123)

We are beginning now to see, albeit rather hazily, something of the man behind the mask of the name "Entji' Amin". He is rather short in stature, probably shorter than the average, (124) and (perhaps with the vanity (125) often displayed by small men) something of a dandy. (126) By birth "a Malay of Macassarese descent", (127) he is rather proud of being a member of the Malay community of Macassar, and goes to some trouble to chronicle the exploits of its leading figures. For the Macassarese, part of his 'Malayness' perhaps lay in his knowledge of the wudjūdijjah-type Sufism, and it seems very likely that he was active member of a Sufi order, perhaps the Qadirijjah or Chalwatijjah. He seems well-acquainted with the kitāb-literature and has probably studied (or at least read) some of the 'fashionable' writers on the subject such as Hamzah Fansuri.

His reading is by no means confined to kitāb-literature however, for he shows himself to be well acquainted with the secular literature of his time, never at a loss for some classical hero with whom to compare the contemporary protagonists of his chronicle.

Thus, Karaéng Djarannika, whom Dutch records recognise as "een beroemt krygsman van den vyandt" (128) is described

as fighting "upama Sang Bima".⁽¹²⁹⁾ Karaéng Pattunga is compared, now with Gatotkatja,⁽¹³⁰⁾ now with "Sang Djaja Amarta".⁽¹³¹⁾ Another Karaéng fights like the 'villain' of the Hikajat Seri Rama, Maharadja Rawana,⁽¹³²⁾ at the same time bearing himself "like Sang Ardjuna"⁽¹³³⁾ (with whom the impetuous Daéng Marewa is also - as "Sang Parta" - compared.)⁽¹³⁴⁾ Appropriately enough, Karaéng Mamu, one of the more 'dressy' members of the Macassarese aristocracy,⁽¹³⁵⁾ is compared to Sang Samba,⁽¹³⁶⁾ the young and graceful hero of the Hikajat Sang Boma, and it is with the fighting described in this Hikajat that the clash of arms between the VOC and Macassarese forces is compared.⁽¹³⁷⁾

Such references point to a fairly wide acquaintance with the Malay versions of the Indian epics which, at the time, must have made up a considerable portion of the corpus of Malay secular literature.⁽¹³⁸⁾ Moreover, comparisons such as:-

"Daéng Mabéla muda jang sabar
seperti patung didalam gambar"⁽¹³⁹⁾

and

"Keraéng Djaranika upama wajang"⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

(and also perhaps the fact that on one occasion Ardjuna is referred to as "Sang Parta")⁽¹⁴¹⁾ suggest that our author was not unaccustomed to seeing the exploits of his Hindu-derived heroes performed on the 'stage' of the wajang purwa theatre.

His interest in the literary arts would, of course, be partly professional: he is a writer not only by inclination but also by trade. As the secretary to the Sultan of Gowa, his professional skill would be employed in taking notes of conferences and copying out and drafting letters and treaties (in the performance of which he would like a good craftsman probably pay considerable attention to his calligraphy.) But it is likely that his services to the Sultan would not be confined to those of a secretarial nature. We know that Speelman refused to negotiate with the Macassarese in their own language because "... de heele Regeringe Maleyts ende meeste deel ook Portugees verstinde",⁽¹⁴²⁾ a statement that appears to confirm that Malay was for the Macassarese aristocracy something like French was for the Russian aristocracy in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁽¹⁴³⁾ As the Sultan of Gowa's Malay secretary, it is not unlikely that Entji' Amin would spend at least part of his time in such activities as reading, discussing, copying out and perhaps sometimes even lecturing on the more important Malay works of the time, not the least important of which would be those concerned with religious topics.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Moreover, as a 'writer', in an age that had not yet learnt to distinguish between 'artist' and 'craftsman', Entji' Amin would certainly be expected to 'write', to write not only the Sultan's official correspondence, but

also works of an original nature,⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ to edify, or merely amuse, the limited circle of people around whom Macassar revolved and upon whom an author was necessarily dependent for his fame, and even his material well-being.

As in contemporary Europe, the non-aristocratic artist (or 'writer-craftsman') was almost entirely dependent on patronage⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ and, as K. B. de Codrington once remarked "The art of the patron is essentially an art of fashion" in which today's fashion or mode is constantly being replaced by tomorrow's, which in turn becomes 'the latest fashion'. Such circumstances tend to place a premium upon topicality, particularly in an aristocratic society, where the 'topic of the day' must inevitably feature one or more of the limited number of people who 'count' in that society. Probably the surest way for a writer to attract the attention of potential patrons is to produce works which have a topical slant, featuring a recent scandal, a marriage, or perhaps even a war. If, in such a topical work, the writer can arrange it so that his potential patrons have the satisfaction of hearing themselves mentioned and their deeds praised, they are obviously more inclined to take an active interest in furthering the career of a writer who clearly displays such great powers of discernment.

In our author's society, first and foremost amongst his potential patrons would be his master, the Sultan of Gowa, and it is not surprising to find Hasanuddin playing a leading part in the poem which in fact appears to be formally dedicated to him.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ There are numerous references to Hasanuddin throughout the poem,⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ all of which are flattering, and apart from this the author more than once halts his narrative of events in order to deliver a formal eulogy of the Sultan.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ With a nice sense of fitness, such formal eulogies appear to be reserved exclusively for reigning royalty: the only other person allowed one is the Sultan's brother-ruler, the Sultan of Tallo',⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Less exalted characters are given correspondingly less exalted treatment in that, although mentioned and lauded, the author does not actually go so far as to interrupt the narrative. Even so, an impressively wide distribution of 'credits' amongst the ruling class of Macassar is achieved. No less than 26 of the Macassarese aristocracy are mentioned, and most of them are 'cited' not just once, but repeatedly. Karaéng Djarannika, for example, is mentioned in no less than 22 of the sja'ir's verses (less than 500 of which are devoted to the actual narrative of events.) Karaéng Léngkése' features in 10 verses while Karaéngs Bonto Marannu, Mamu and Peté' né' each figure in some eight verses apiece. And there are, of course, numerous

references in the poem to that section of Macassar society that must be regarded as the most obvious audience for a topically-slanted Malay *sja'ir*, the Malay community of Macassar, of whom no less than sixteen are mentioned in the *sja'ir*. Greatest prominence is given to the Datu² Maharadjalela, whose deeds figure in 11 verses, while considerable space is also devoted to Daengri Boko, the 'S(j)ahbandar Tua' (9 verses) and the 'Djuru Datjing' and his family (8 verses). (151)

Such 'eulogising' and 'credit-giving' tendencies are no longer fashionable in modern literary circles but were the accepted convention in the 17th (and 18th) century, not only in Malaysia, but throughout the whole world. An English poem that comes very close to being exactly contemporary with our *sja'ir*, the "Annus Mirabilis" of John Dryden (published in 1668) contains repeated eulogies of Charles II, briefer eulogies of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albermarle, and 'citations for gallantry' of some eight English naval commanders scattered throughout its 304 quatrains. (152)

In accessing the literary merits of our poem then, it would probably be unwise to make too much of the interruption to the narrative caused by such eulogies, for it is likely that contemporary literary critics, taking them for granted, would view them with the same unseeing eye that modern

audiences view the equally conventional eulogies of various brands of merchandise that interrupt the presentation of works of art on commercial television programmes. Apart from this however, the author of our *sja'ir* seems to have taken a good deal of effort to keep such interruption down to a minimum, within the framework of the conventions of the time, that is. Excluding the introduction (v.1-28) and the epilogue (v.514-534), the author delivers only two further eulogies of his master, of 5 and 3 verses respectively (as compared with the 'full-scale' eulogy of 12 verses in the Introduction). Moreover, these two 'minor' eulogies have some claim to be considered as fulfilling a functional role in the poem, in as much as they serve as 'bridge-passages' separating two quite distinctive events. The first of these two 'minor eulogies', ⁽¹⁵³⁾ for example occurs after the account of the VOC expedition to the Moluccas and before the beginning of the account of the Bugis uprising in Bone; similarly, the second ⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ occurs after the signing of the Bungaja Treaty and before the resumption of hostilities. Both, in fact, are rather in the nature of a curtain coming down between the acts of a play.

One gets the impression, too, that these eulogies are rather skilfully spaced out, skilfully, that is, with a view to obtaining their maximum effect. Before the effect of the full scale eulogy in v.13-24 has had time to die

away, the author 'repeats the dose' with another five verses, just over a quarter of the way through the poem.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ Having thus made sure that his point is fully taken, there is no need for him to over-do it. At the same time, it would be as well to have just one more tactful reminder, preferably late in the poem, but not late enough to give his audience time to get away, so the author inserts his last and briefest eulogy (only three verses) at a point about four-fifths of the way through the poem,⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ before the thought of 'leaving before the end' will have occurred to his audience.

All this of course is conjecture, but the conjecture may seem to gain support from the way the author refers to himself and his authorship. Roughly speaking, his task is this: while being dutifully self-deprecatory (to the point of obsequiousness, to modern taste) he must point out, as best he can, that poems do not exactly grow upon trees, that it requires a good deal of hard work on the part of a definite individual to produce them, and that the best way to ensure the production of such works is to extend an occasional helping, even if patronising, hand to the humble craftsman responsible for their manufacture. In the introduction and the epilogue, he is bound, by convention, to confine his remarks to the difficulties that had to be surmounted in the composition of the poem. In the main body

of the narrative, he waits until the story allows him legitimately to introduce himself in the third person, whereupon he devotes three full verses⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ to pointing out just what a remarkable fellow this Entji' Amin (who, as the audience would realise, was none other than the author) was. The point being well made, he is content to remind his audience of the continued presence of the poem's creator roughly once every hundred verses,⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ before formally declaring his identity in the epilogue.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

As for making a direct appeal to his audience's charity, this was naturally something of a delicate matter and one that, if it was to be done at all, had to be timed rather carefully. It is open to discussion whether the 'charity appeal' in our sja'ir is the work of the original author or a later copyist; there is likely to be less discussion as to the judicious 'timing' of the appeal. It is inserted just after the half-way mark in the poem, when the action of the battle is at its height.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

It seems likely, in fact, that this and many other works of classical Malay literature are to some extent shaped by the need to attract, and to hold, the attention of a possibly capricious audience, most of whom would regard the composer not as artist but rather as a modern audience would view some performer on the music-hall stage, the onus being on the performer, to provide entertainment, rather

than on the audience, to provide the artist with respectful attention. This would help to account for the 'episodic' manner of presentation: there is little attempt to see the war as a whole and view it in any kind of perspective. Instead, each incident revolves, or rather is made to revolve around this or that personality (a tendency which cannot be due entirely to the author's desire to 'feature' his fellow-citizens as much as possible - on the lines suggested above - because he does very much the same thing when describing the activities of the VOC and their allies, whom it is most unlikely that he regarded as potential patrons.)

This 'episodic' and 'personality-centred' character has always been at once the weakness and the strength of classical Malay literature, for while it is true that the episodic (and often unbalanced) presentation results in the audience obtaining a rather distorted and jerky impression of the story as a whole, nevertheless this same technique, in the hands of a master (such as the author of the "Sedjarah Melaju") can result in the writer catching the essentials of a scene or summing up a man's character in a few brief words, (161) or, in the case of a *sja'ir*, in the compass of a line or two of verse. 'Summing up a man's character' is coming rather close to 'characterisation', and while the necessity for compression (particularly in writing verse) may more often produce a caricature than a

character, even so the essence of a good caricature is that although it exaggerates, it exaggerates one or more of the real features of the man himself. Our author's skill at such characterisation is not equal to that of the author of the "Sedjarah Melaju", but in a literature that shows such a decided preference for 'types' over 'characters' his efforts deserve at least an honourable mention. (162)

Consider, for example, his portrait of Aru Palakka. The Bugis leader is depicted as lustful ("perempuan jang baik bahagian b ta"), (163) revengeful ("serta kukenang hatiku pedih") (164) and ambitious ("keradjaan di Bone Tunderu' pohonkan"), (165) a brave ("berani mengamuk bukan kepalang") (166) and resourceful ("mentjari akal (a)kan berperang") (167) soldier, twice wounded in the fighting. (168) But this same Palakka is also a diplomat, who can, if necessary, use soft words ("Si Tunderu' berkata mulutnja manis") (169) sometimes in order to convince his opponents of the futility of further resistance:

"Radja Palaka berkata perlahan
berang kehendaknja tuanku ikutkan." (170)

And however committed to the Dutch cause he might be, Palakka is still represented as being sufficient of an Indonesian to point out to his commanding officer the solecism committed in attempting to deprive the Macassarese envoy of his keris (without which no Indonesian would

consider himself to be properly dressed.)(171) Bearing in mind that the sja'ir was written probably soon after the end of hostilities (i.e. around 1670), this appraisal of Palakka's character seems little short of masterly. It is certainly far more realistic than anything attempted by Palakka's allies, the VOC, who later on were more than once disconcerted to find that their 'loyal ally' had no intention of sacrificing his own interests to those of the VOC.(172)

The sja'ir contains many other examples of characterisation or characterisation-cum-caricature. Above, we noted the way in which the author praised Captain Joncker for his professional capabilities as an artilleryman, but he can also show us him listening with growing impatience,

"Kapitan Djongkor jang sangat gusar
duduknja itu terkisar-kisar"(173)

To the bumbling attempts at self-justification made by Speelman's Bandanese envoy, until finally the hot-tempered captain can stand it no longer and explodes into a stream of abuse. This same incident shows us Speelman rebuking his envoy with a laugh and a jest:

"Amiral mendengar suka tertawa
kerana Bandan berbahasa Djawa
daripada sebab bingungmu djuga
maka Mengkasar sekalian tertawa."(174)

but the author can also show us Speelman rebuking far more exalted characters in a far more savage fashion:

"Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
mengapakah mau bertjakap Keraeng
dihadapan Welanda Bone dan Sopeng
sungguhlah engkau seperti andjing." (175)

And the verse in which the author shows us the Sultan of Ternat , a prey to mixed feelings when the VOC fleet arrives at Ternate and calls upon him to 'put up the ante' for his share of the expedition against Macassar:

"Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah
ada sedikit hatinja susah
pikir baginda tunduk tengadah
sebab bertjakap terlandjur sudah." (176)

might be used as the epitaph of all rulers in the archipelago who tried to further their dynastic ambitions by asking European assistance.

It will be observed that all the characters mentioned so far as providing evidence of the author's attempts to draw his pictures 'in the round', are drawn from the ranks of Macassar's enemies, the VOC and its allies. The author is noticeably more restrained in commenting on the Macassarese: where he cannot praise, he prefers to remain silent or to take refuge in a clich .

As a result the Macassarese aristocracy only rarely come to life in the way the non-Macassar characters do, even when (as is the case with the Sultan of Gowa, for example, or Karaeng Djarannika) a considerable amount of space is devoted to them. The author is slightly less restrained when dealing with the Malay community of Macassar - one of them is depicted as unbending enough to crack a very passable joke - (177) but the author still seems to be too conscious that he is dealing with actual or potential friends and patrons to give us any 'warts and all' pictures. It is only when the least important section of the community are featured, e.g. when women and children bewail the death of husband or father, that the characters are allowed - literally - to 'let their hair down', (178) Even here however, the 'laments' uttered have a rather literary flavour, the use of words such as "patik", (179) "baginda" (180) and "santapan" (181) suggesting that the author is perhaps relying on reminiscences of other Malay works.

But such 'second-hand' impressions are rare with our author who in general endeavours - and on the whole successfully - to make his vignettes as vivid as possible. His description of the panic that arose at the armistice negotiations in November 1667 is too long to quote here,

but the Sultan's amusement at the sight of the startled Speelman

"... lelah ternganga-nganga

mulutnja itu seperti arang belanga", (182)

his telling Palakka 'be a good chap and bring your rather impulsive boss back so that we can get down to business again', the fierce and resentful way Speelman glares at the Sultan's messenger - all this is described so realistically as to tempt one to see in Stapel's description of the scene (based, apparently, only on Speelman's account) a certain 'tidying-up' of the facts. (183)

As can be seen from the examples quoted above, the vividness of the author's portraits is quite often due to their containing an ingredient not exactly common in classical Malay literature - humour. This humour tends to be of a rough and earthy kind, e.g. in v.86, when, after the three lines

"Welandia iblis terlalu tjerdik

dikajuhkan dengan perahu ketjil

diturunkan dari pangkalan Garasi',

the author concludes the verse with the rather unexpected

"supaja nadjisnja djangan memertjik".

It is this same rough, rather 'slapstick' humour that the author shows when describing the insults heaped by

Captain Joncker on the head of Speelman's servant, beginning with:

"besar pandjang penakut tjabar"
and concluding with the (rhetorical) question:

"apatah guna berkain tjaul
patut memakan bubur berketul"(184)

On other occasions however, the author's humour is of definitely higher status, deserving of the name of wit. For example, when the arch-turncoat, the 'Radja Mampu' is captured by the Macassarese and promptly agrees to take yet another oath of loyalty to Macassar, the Macassar Sjahbandar asks him "And how many times does this make that you've taken the oath?" The old Radja, meekly submissive, answers "Twice, Sir", whereupon he receives ironical congratulations on his python-like ability to eat his own words.(185) And when the Datu' Maharadjaléla, in a desperate attempt to rally his men, curses them up hill and down dale, the author successfully conjures up the vast tracts of profanity explored by the Maharadjaléla's questing tongue by means of the rather English understatement:

"karena orang tidak keluar
ia berkata halus dan kasar."(186)

One may presume too, a definite attempt at parody, when the

author makes Speelman's Bandanese servant (chased back to his ship "like a hunted stag") comes dashing up to his master with arms outstretched, addressing him in an extravagant combination of terms normally reserved for Malay royalty, Dutch naval commanders, Malay chiefs and Prophets of God respectively:

"Tuanku Amiral Datu' Djundjungan
bêta diburu seperti mendjangan"(187)

Of course, attempts, such as those made above, to assess the literary merits of the poem by way of an 'intuitive' and 'impressionistic' approach are necessarily subjective, and it might well be argued that the gulf between the modern critic and the poem's contemporary critics is so vast as to make any such 'aesthetic' approach largely pointless. For the truly academic critic, it will be argued, the only approach possible is via the statistical and comparative method. Having assembled all works contemporary to the one being studied, and having duly dissected them, the critic can then proceed to noting, not the excellencies and demerits of the poem - for that, of course, would amount to a value-judgement - but the points in which it differs from other contemporary works.

But even if it is agreed that this is by far the best way for the critic to approach the writings of a past age,

it is one which poses the student of Malay literature a task of extreme difficulty, that of discovering, which, if any, of the mss. that survive are in fact contemporary with the work studied. What works, for example, are to be considered as contemporary with our *sja'ir* which, in all probability, dates from around 1670? The works of Hamzah Fansuri?⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ But these probably date from some fifty years earlier, and their subject matter is scarcely of a nature to facilitate much of a stylistic comparison with our 'historical' *sja'ir*. And although such a comparison may (as was noted above) result in our attention being drawn to certain apparent similarities between Hamzah's *sja'ir(s)* and our own, one cannot be absolutely sure - because of the almost complete lack of reliably-dated contemporary mss - that such features were not common to all or most of the Malay works of the time, only a very small fraction of which have had the good fortune to survive the vicissitudes of time and climate to be available for our inspection to-day.

Unless then one falls back on the subjective 'intuitive-impressionistic' approach, one must either abandon one's attempts to 'place' our work within the framework of contemporary literature, or to extend the meaning of the word 'contemporary' so as to include works

written within a hundred to two hundred years - either way - of our own. Such an extension must inevitably reduce the value of comparisons made between our sja'ir and other 'contemporary' sja'irs, but if we accept the thesis that classical Malay literature (in particular the sja'ir-genre) did not so much progress as stagnate (or even die), (189) then such comparisons may still be not entirely unprofitable particularly if attention is focussed on the more formal, as distinct from the more aesthetic, aspects of the genre.

Returning to our sja'ir, it will be observed that it possesses one such formal feature upon which the author appears to have lavished a good deal of care, the exordium or introduction. (190) A comparison of this exordium with those found in other sja'irs may perhaps help to reveal whether or not our author's skill has resulted in the creation of something different enough to awake the suspicion that the difference is not merely quantitative but also qualitative.

Very little study is needed to show that the exordium of our poem, in particular the doxology, is far more 'worked-out', far more detailed, than that of any of the sja'irs that have been edited to date, but these are so few in number that it is only fair to extend our inquiry to the catalogues. Taking the "Gedichten" section of van Ronkel's

KBG catalogue⁽¹⁹¹⁾ and concentrating on those sja'irs whose introduction-cum-doxology is quoted or commented on, the following results are obtained for some 31 sja'irs, of which 24 may be termed 'fictional' 6 'historical' and 1 'religious'. Of the 6 'historical' sja'irs,⁽¹⁹²⁾ only one has an introduction of more than one verse, and even here, the doxology is confined to the first two lines.⁽¹⁹³⁾ It is true that all the six sja'irs are much later than our poem,⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ but even if the comparison be extended to include the 24 'fictional' sja'irs,⁽¹⁹⁵⁾ nothing can be found which exactly parallels our sja'ir's exordium. 13 of the 24 have no doxology at all but only the briefest of introduction with some such phrase as:

"Al-kissah maka tersebut suatu tjeritera",⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ while 6 limit their doxology to the confines of a single verse. The "Sja'ir Koembajat" has a doxology of two verses, most of which is taken up with instructions for the correct 'cantillation' of the phrase "Al-hamdu li'llah".⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ Lengthier doxologies are to be found in the "Sja'ir Silindoeng Dalima (II)", which, we are told, has a "captatio benevolentiae van zes strophen",⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ and in the "Sja'ir Kahr Masjhoër" which apparently has some six verses of an introductory nature, only one of which is quoted.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ It is uncertain just how many verses are devoted to the introduction of the "Sja'ir Sitti Dzawijjah (I)"; the two

opening verses quoted are devoted to a detailed explanation of the phrase "'a'ūdzu bi'llahi" and may perhaps be only a part of a lengthier exordium. (200) There is only one sja'ir whose doxology comes at all close to ours, the "Sja'ir Soeltan Jahja (I)", whose opening verses run:

"Bismi'llah itu permulaan kalam
dengan nama chalik al-'alam
limpah rahmat siang dan malam
kepada hambanja segala Islam.
Al-rahman itu suatu sifat
ma'nanja murah sekaliannja tempat
sekaliannja 'alam laut dan darat
sekaliannja itu beroleh ni'mat.
Al-rahim itu sifat jang seni
ma'nanja sangat mengasihani
barang jang Islam hati nur nabi
makanja Allah mengampuni..." (201)

For the sake of completeness, it may be mentioned that the one 'religious' sja'ir, the "Sja'ir Patoet Delapan" appears to have no doxology as such. (202)

The conclusions suggested by such an investigation are:

- (a) doxologies are optional
- (b) doxologies of more than a verse or two are uncommon
- (c) doxologies as detailed as that found in our sja'ir are very rare.

These conclusions would appear to be confirmed by a similar investigation made with the help of van Ronkel's Leiden 'Supplement-Catalogus', which shows that out of some 46 sja'irs whose introductory verses are quoted or commented on, only 12 (4 of which are 'religious' sja'irs) contain a doxology of more than a single verse.

Our sja'ir then has an exordium which, on length alone, goes far to justify the description 'unique', but even more striking than its length is the mathematical accuracy of the pattern formed by the various sections into which it is divided. There are three main divisions: v.1-12, the religious doxology, v.13-24, dedication to and praise of the Sultan of Gowa, and v.25-28, the writer's self-deprecatory introduction. The doxology is sub-divided into three subsections, two of which are further sub-divided into four sections of a single verse each. The whole may be represented schematically as follows:

<u>RELIGIOUS</u>	{ Praise of God	(v.1 Bismi'llah
		(v.2 Rahman
		(v.3 Rahim
		(v.4 Al-hamduli'llah
<u>INTRODUCTION</u> (v.1-12)	{ Praise of the Prophet	(v.5-8
		(v.9 Abu Bakar
	{ Praise of the 'Companions'	(v.10 'Umar
		(v.11 'Uthman
		(v.12 'Ali
<u>SECULAR</u> ' <u>DEDICATION</u> '	(Praise of the Sultan	(v.13-24
<u>WRITER'S</u> <u>APOLOGIES</u>	(Deprecation of writer's abilities)	(v.25-28)

The symmetry of the pattern is striking:⁽²⁰³⁾ it appears to revolve around the number 4 and can be formulated mathematically as:

$$(x + x + x) + 3x + x = 28,$$

where $x = 4$. In passing, one may note that the number 28, the number of the lunar cycle,⁽²⁰⁴⁾ may well retain some talismanic value here - it would certainly not be out of keeping with the age - but what concerns us more is the question: how much of this formularisation was due to the literary conventions of the time, and how much is to be ascribed to the writer's own skill (and perhaps invention)? Even if convention demanded a doxology, did it also require a doxology of such length and of such 'tailor-made' proportions? The comparisons drawn above suggest that the answer to this question is no, and it is tempting to see in our *sja'ir* the hand of an individual author making, in his exactly equal distribution of verses between his religion and his patron, something of an individual attempt to solve the problem that defeated Shakespeare's Cardinal Wolsey.

Individual too seems to be the way in which our author although of Macassarese descent, and writing some hundreds of miles away from the fountain-head of Malay culture, yet manages so successfully to avoid writing 'Macassarese Malay'. Arabic words of course are plentiful, for such

words were part and parcel of the vocabulary of every educated Malay of the times, but apart from proper names and titles, the number of Macassarese words can literally be counted on the fingers of one hand. In some 534 verses only four words are to be found whose Macassarese derivation might give some clue as to the sja'ir's place of origin: "sunderik", (205) "tjilo-tjilo", (206) "pakur"(?) (207) and "la'lang", (208) in each case the name of an object peculiar to Macassar and without any exact Malay counterpart. In the author's syntax, too, no trace is to be found of any Macassarese influence, and, all in all, it seems reasonable to see in our author a man holding decided views on what was, and what was not, 'good Malay', even to the extent of being something of a purist in his choice of vocabulary. Compared, say, with the strong Bandjarese colouring of the "Sja'ir Hemop", (209) with the strong Kutai colouring of the "Salasilah Kutai", (210) or with the "specifiek Atjèhs-Maleis" of the "Hikajat Atjèh", (211) our author has some claim to be considered as the exception to Winstedt's pronouncement (on Malay historical works emanating from outside the Riau-Johore area) that "None are written in the classical Malay of the Peninsula..." (212) In fact, if it were not for the internal evidence provided by the subject matter, it would be no easy task to deduce, on grounds of style alone, the sja'ir's provenance, or its date.

As to its date, we are fortunate in possessing sufficient evidence to enable us to date the original poem with some accuracy. A 'terminus a quo' for dating the work is obviously the end of the fighting between the VOC and Macassar in July 1669. For a 'terminus ad quem', we know that one of the mss. of the poem was once in the possession of Francois Valentijn (who died in 1727) and was very probably compiled by his wife, Cornelia, some time before her death in 1717.⁽²¹³⁾ Clearly not the author of the poem, Cornelia must have copied it from an earlier ms. - perhaps even the original - which may reasonably be dated as around 1700. So much for external evidence on internal evidence, the circumstantial and accurate nature of the author's narrative bears all the marks of a contemporary account written within a year or two of the end of the fighting. There is one significant fact. Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Gowa, who figures very prominently in the poem, died on June 12th, 1670,⁽²¹⁴⁾ yet there is no indication whatsoever of this in the text (no 'marhum', for example). In an age very conscious of, and very punctilious in the use of, posthumous titles,⁽²¹⁵⁾ it seems most unlikely that our author - Hasanuddin's confidential secretary - would have made no mention of his master's death unless the poem had been written before the death occurred. This suggests that the poem was written some time between

July 1669 and June 1670.

It is rare enough to be able to identify the author of a classical Malay work, rarer still to be able to identify author and date. In the case of the present sja'ir, it seems possible to go even farther and identify the copyist of the earliest surviving ms. - albeit only a small part - of the poem, satisfyingly enough as the wife of a renowned 'Malaicus'. Our sja'ir has some claim therefore, to be the earliest Malay sja'ir that can be dated and documented at all reliably⁽²¹⁶⁾

Such documentation has taken some time, for the first reference to the poem occurs as early 1736, in Werndly's "Maleische Spraakkunst",⁽²¹⁷⁾ and even before this time the sja'ir must have been known to European scholars, as at least a fragment of a ms. of the poem was once owned by François Valentijn. Together with other mss. from the Valentijn collection, this ms. was acquired by the Leiden University Library in 1848 and included by Pijnappel in his list of the Library's Malay mss. (published in 1870).⁽²¹⁸⁾ Pijnappel called it the "Sja'ir Sipelman" and this title was given the seal of approval in Juynboll's authoritative catalogue of 1899.⁽²¹⁹⁾

At the time that Juynboll was compiling his catalogue, another and almost complete ms. of the poem was lying in

the library of King's College, London. This ms., listed in the 'Bibliotheca Marsdenia' of 1827 as "A poem in the Malayan language on the conquest of Mangkâsar or Macassar, by the united forces of the Hollanders and Bûgis, under the command of Admiral Cornelis Speelman and Radjah Palaka in the year 1667, by Inchî Ambun", (220) had been presented to the College by William Marsden's widow, after the death of her husband in 1836, (221) and it remained in the College Library until 1918, when, with the founding of what is now the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was transferred to the Library of the latter institution.

The description of the ms. in the 'Bibliotheca Marsdenia' had been quoted by N.B. Dennys in his "A Contribution to Malayan Bibliography" in 1880, (222) but these references in English seem to have escaped the notice of Dutch scholars (223) until 1936, when van der Linden quoted Dennys' entry and suggested that the work referred to was possibly the same as the "Sja'ir Speelman" in Cod.Or 1626. (224) This suggestion was not confirmed until 1951 when Dr. Voorhoeve came to London to catalogue the Indonesian mss. in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies. (225)

In his catalogue, Dr. Voorhoeve, like his predecessors, listed the work as the "Sja'ir Speelman", a title for which there would appear to be authority going back over two hundred years. And yet, it seems unlikely that such was the original name of the poem.

Werndly, in his book published in 1736, calls it the "Panton 'Ispelman", (226) but it is not certain that Werndly had first-hand knowledge of the poem and it is difficult to accept his remarks as authoritative (why, for example, does he call it a "Panton" and not a "Sja'ir"?). It seems possible that, as was common with Europeans in the East until recently, Werndly viewed matters through European-centric spectacles and preferred to call it by the name of the best-known (European) character to be encountered in it, viz. the "Kornilis Sipalman" mentioned in v.29b of the present edition. The much later references by Pijnappel, de Hollander and Juynboll could only have been based on the Cod.Or.1626 fragment and would appear to be a case of 'follow-my-leader'.

Reading the poem, it is difficult to see how Speelman can be imagined as its hero, least of all by the original author, who was very probably the secretary to the Sultan of Gowa whom Speelman was fighting against. In the case of

another sja'ir, one might agree with W.Kern's preference for the shorter and more 'individual' title of "Sja'ir Hemop" to the "omslachtig" name of "Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina", on the grounds that van Imhoff is clearly intended by the author to be the hero of his poem,⁽²²⁷⁾ but it can scarcely be claimed that Speelman was intended to be the hero of the present sja'ir.

The first reference to Speelman in the poem occurs in v.29 and he is mentioned in some 65 of the subsequent verses; he is rarely referred to except in terms such as "Djenderal Welanda jang mabuk",⁽²²⁸⁾ "Amiral Nasrani terlalu bengis",⁽²²⁹⁾ "Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil",⁽²³⁰⁾ "Amiral kafir jang durhaka"⁽²³¹⁾ or the like. On the other hand, the Sultan of Gowa, the author's employer, is first mentioned in v.13, is eulogized throughout the next twelve verses and, in all, features in some ninety-six of the sja'ir's 534 verses. It is therefore difficult to maintain that Speelman is the hero of an eponymous sja'ir, whether on grounds of the author's intentions, or in terms of the space allotted to him.⁽²³²⁾ If anyone is the hero of the poem it should be Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Gowa, to whom the poem seems to be dedicated in the words:

"Patik persembahkan suatu nazam
ke bawah duli makota 'alam..."⁽²³³⁾

But in fact, the writer is concerned not so much to chronicle the exploits of any one hero (who would, as a matter of policy, be his employer, Hasanuddin), as to describe what happened in the course of the war between Macassar and its enemies.

It is the "Macassar War" that constitutes the subject matter of the poem as the author indicates when, about to conclude the *sja'ir*, he writes:

"Tuan dengarkan fakir bermadah
tamatlah karangan Mengkasar alah...."(234)

and again, to leave no doubt:

"Tamat karangan perang Mengkasar..."(235)

It seems reasonable therefore to call our *sja'ir* not the "Sja'ir Speelman" but the "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar" - 'The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War'. And although Speelman is thus deprived of the honour of inspiring a Malay poet, his admirers can always find consolation - if Vondel's punning is not too robust for modern taste - in the verses commemorating Speelman's Macassar exploits composed by his contemporary, probably the greatest of Dutch poets:

"Op zulk een Speelmanstoon en brommende oorlogssnaeren
Danst in Oost-Indien het heir der Macassaren
Den harnasdans in bloet..."(236)

N O T E S

- (1) cf. the chapter headings used by Hall - "The Intrusion of the English and Dutch", "The Expansion of the V.O.C." (Hall: SEA, chapters 14 and 15), and Harrison, "Dutch and English Beginnings", "European Company Trade in the Seventeenth Century" (Harrison: SEA, chapters IX and X).
- (2) For criticism of this 'European-centric' approach, see van Leur: GNI, p. 593-595. van Leur's conclusion was that "... de 17de-eeuwsche Indische geschiedenis (in het raam van haar historisch landschap nog beter Indonesische geschiedenis te noemen) bepaaldelijk niet met Compagniesgeschiedenis gelijkgesteld kan worden..." (van Leur: AEC, pag.546)
- (3) See 'Abbreviations Used'.
- (4) See the table quoted in Glamann: DAT, p.26.
- (5) It might be as well here to clear up one or two points in connection with the name 'Macassar'. At the time of the sja'ir Macassar was the name given by foreigners (and not by the Macassarese themselves) to the area between the Garassi² river and Sambung Djawa. In this area, the Sultan of Gowa, the senior ruler of the twin-sultanates of Gowa and Tallo², had his palace-cum-castle, at Sombaopu. The area, being

easily the biggest and most important location in the state (far bigger than either the villages of Gowa and Tallo') was considered (by foreigners) as the capital of the state, which was also termed 'Macassar'. As the senior ruler of this state, the Sultan of Gowa, residing in his castle in the area, was often taken by foreigners to be the (sole) ruler of the state, and termed the 'Sultan of Macassar' or 'King of Macassar'. After the campaigns described in the sja'ir, the VOC took possession of the Udjung Pandang area, where they established Fort Rotterdam, which has become the nucleus of the modern town of Macassar. (Speelman: NOT, p.24-25: Stapel: HBV, p.2-3. See also notes to v.13b, v.31c.)

- (6) This and the next few pages contain a historical resume of the events leading up to Speelman's expedition against Macassar in 1666. It is based largely upon data drawn from Stapel: HBV, p.1-91, and, to avoid a multiplicity of foot-notes, references made in it will be confined to works other than Stapel: HBV
- (7) cf. van Dam: BOC, p.223: "... ten anderen is dit Macasser mede seer gerenommeert geweest van wegen de groote strijtbaerheyt van die natie, waardoor hetselve sig allomme seer ontsaggelijck hadde gemaectt."

- (8) Hall: SEA, p.240-241.
- (9) This memorable remark - and se non è vero è ben trovato - is quoted by Stapel from Colenbrander (Coen, p.122.)
- (10) Hugo de Groot (Grotius) in "Mare Liberum" (1609).
- (11) Writing in May, 1665, the English East India Company's Factors in Macassar complain bitterly of the inroads made upon their profits by "Kings Customes" (JAV, Vol.5, Section 72a, fol 34. See also note to v.378a). Some idea of the extent of the taxes, imposts, douceurs, presents etc., required of foreign traders in Indonesian port kingdoms can be obtained from documents such as the 'Port Regulations' given in the "Adat Atjèh" (Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, p.111-176 in the Jawi text.)
- (12) Quoted by Stapel from DAG, November 10th, 1656, p.8.
- (13) See note to v.391b.
- (14) See note to v.30d.
- (15) See note to v.13b.
- (16) See note to v.138c.
- (17) See note to v.29c.
- (18) cf. Stevenson's "Kidnapped", where David Balfour, surprised to find his name not mentioned in Alan Breck's poem celebrating their joint victory in the

siege of the Round House, muses "... but poets (as a very wise man once told me) have to think upon their rhymes". However, the difficulty of a metre depends on the poet's technical skill: it is hard to imagine an Ovid finding it difficult to write on any topic in any metre.

- (19) Very briefly, the sja'ir metre can be summed up as follows: four 'full' words (as 'minimum free forms', i.e. including bound morphemes, cf. Bloch and Trager: OLA, p.54) per line, four lines to a stanza (with no enjambement) and with an end-rhyme A A A A. (cf. Hooykaas: LMI, p. 71; Teeuw: TEV, p.9-10.)
- (20) Particularly with regard to the identical end-rhyme. In practice however, the Malay sja'ir-writer is in a position to make light of a requirement that would cause considerable difficulty in a language in which the phonemic structure of the morphemes was less restricted than it is in Malay (see Teeuw: TEV, p.11-12 Eringa: TEV, p.283-284).
- (21) Bearing in mind too that the 'coefficient of boredom' of a Malay audience is, even now, by no means identical with that of a European audience. The latter often places a premium upon originality (even at the expense of intelligibility); the former, upon

- familiarity (even at the expense of redundancy).
cf. Teeuw: ROM, p.118.
- (22) cf. Bowra: HER (especially Chapter XIV).
- (23) von Grunebaum: MIS, p.282.
- (24) Hooykaas: OML, p.90.
- (25) Runciman: HCR, p.336.
- (26) Winstedt: SEJ, p.51.
- (27) In his "Tuhfat al-nafis" (a title that has usually been translated as "The Precious Gift"), Radja 'Ali sharply criticizes other Malay historical works for their unreliability ('Ali: TNF, p.83-84).
- (28) 'Ali: TNF, p.14.
- (29) cf. Bassett (reviewing Glamann: DTA) "The crucial factor... in both conquests (i.e. Bantam and Macassar: CS) would surely be the expulsion of rival European traders from both Sultanates" (Bassett: DAT, p.96.)
- (30) See Heeres: CDN, p.173-176.
- (31) See below.
- (32) Heeres: CDN, p.372-374.
- (33) v.417-418
- (34) v.419-420.
- (35) It is an interesting coincidence - if it is a coincidence - that the price of cloves reached its zenith (f6.38 'per pond') the very year of Speelman's

expedition to Macassar (see the table of average prices given in Glamann DAT, p.280.)

- (36) Speelman: NOT, p.710-714 gives details of the Malays in Macassar at the beginning of 1670. It is obvious that the recent war has caused a considerable diminution in the strength of this community (not one of the Malay leaders mentioned in our sja'ir occurs in Speelman's list, but even so, it is possible to obtain some idea of the importance and influence of the Macassar 'Maleijers' in their hey-day.) It should be noted that Speelman is quite precise about defining 'Maleijers' - other Muslim Asians are categorised as 'Mooren' (ibid., p.708-710.)
- (37) v.143d.
- (38) At the beginning of November 1667, a Macassarese mission arrived in Bantam, where it was favourably received by the Sultan. The VOC Resident at Bantam reported that the mission had requested "... buscruyt, mitsgaders adsistentie van volck of anders, dat de Sulthan de Compe. den oorlogh wilde aendoen, op dat geen secours nae Macassar mogte werden gesonden, als wanneer sy magtigh genoeg souden syn de Hollanders van hun lant te dryven." (DAG, 11th November, 1667, p.385.)
- (39) The campaign is dismissed in two verses (v.208-209)

(40) v.431c.

(41) v.431d.

(42) v.395

(43) v.351. An equally subjective approach (but with targets naturally reversed) is to be found in the William MacGonagal-like effusions of the Rotterdam baker, Gerard van Spaan. In the latter's "D'Opkomst der Oost-indische Compagnie; met de voornaamste Land- en Zee gevegten" (which was popular enough to go into a second edition in 1711), the audience are introduced to the Macassarese in the following lines:

"Mesjeurs, hier volgt nu wat van 't wrevelig Makassar
Op 't eiland Celebes; in gants Oostinje was 'er
Geen schelmser volk als dit, vilein, meineedig, boos,
Moordadig, wrevelig, fieltachtig, trouweloos...
after which, by way of summing up, van Spaan concludes:
"... Kort om, het waren fielen
van Lucifer geteeld, en d'allersnoodste zielen."

(du Perron: MJC, p.120.)

(44) v.43c.

(45) v.55d.

(46) v.79a.

(47) v.86a

(48) v.87b.

(49) v.90c.

- (50) v.93c.
- (51) v.79a.
- (52) The last execution for witchcraft in England was in 1684, in Scotland, in 1722 (Boswell: HEB, p.46 (foot-note 1).)
- (53) cf. Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, Vol.1, p.170: "The common parlance of the people serves to illustrate the attitude of the Achehnese towards the Gōmpeuni (i.e. the NEI Government, at the end of the 19th century; CS). In talking to one another they only occasionally employ the name "Ulanda" (Hollander) the commoner appellation being "kaphé" (Ach. pronunciation of "kafir"), which they use without the least ill-will."
- (54) v.33a.
- (55) v.521a.
- (56) v.262.
- (57) v.435d.
- (58) v.521a.
- (59) v.223d.
- (60) As, for example, is made by Snouck Hurgronje when assessing the work of the Achinese poet, Dōkarim, whose work "...is of course not free from abuse of the Dutch; mockery and insult of every kind are heaped upon them, while the heroic deed of the Achehnese are extolled beyond measure.

What is most striking is the fairly objective tone pervading the poem..." (Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, Vol.2, p.189.)

- (61) Stapel: HBV, CJS.
- (62) In general terms by van Leur: GNI, p.589-595 (see also his AEO, particularly p.546-547) and Coolhaas: COL, p.154. With specific reference to the period of our sja'ir, van Leur: IGE, p.657, criticizes Stapel's 'flood-lighting' of Speelman's exploits as being the result of undue neglect of the Indonesian back-ground against which these exploits were performed.
- (63) A glance at the foot-notes in Stapel: HBV, will reveal the extent of Stapel's reliance upon Speelman's correspondence (and his "Notitie") and the Daghregister.
- (64) Stapel: HBV, p.195.
- (65) v.38a.
- (66) Stapel: HBV, p.97 (and foot-note).
- (67) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.125.
- (68) Stapel: HBV, p.193 and p.195 respectively.
- (69) v.366.
- (70) The only obvious error as regards numbers appears to come in v.522a, where the fighting is said to have lasted five years (see note to v.522a.)

- (71) See "Synopsis".
- (72) v.204.
- (73) Apparently provided by the "orang Minangkabau" mentioned in v.229b.
- (74) See e.g. note to v.436a.
- (75) The account of the fighting from December 1666 to November 1667 takes up almost 400 verses (v.29-423); Speelman's second campaign, lasting some fourteen months, is given less than a hundred verses (v.436-520).
- (76) v.419-420.
- (77) v.214.
- (78) v.215.
- (79) v.327.
- (80) cf.. v.491-493.
- (81) v.489.
- (82) v.489.
- (83) v.513.
- (84) Stapel: CJS, p.56.
- (85) v.305-306.
- (86) Stapel: HBV, p.139.
- (87) v.486.
- (88) v.289.
- (89) v.260.
- (90) v.487-488.

- (91) Stapel: HBV, p.110 (and the foot-note, which, spread over two pages, is the longest in the book).
- (92) v.126.
- (93) As an addition or amendment to Stapel, one might perhaps consider the additional weight given by the sja'ir to Macassar's claim that the responsibility for the recommencement of hostilities in April 1668 was the VOC's rather than Macassar's. Writing in 1936, Stapel appeared to pin the guilt firmly on to the Macassarese (Stapel: CJS, p.49, but cf. also the contradictory evidence provided by his foot-note), but by 1939 he had become much less positive, being prepared to admit that Speelman was equally to blame for the outbreak (Stapel: GNI, p.346.) The point is perhaps a small one, a question of nuance rather than of fact, but appears to be worth making in view of oversimplified statements (apparently based upon Stapel) such as: "Four months later he (Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Gowa: CS) tried once again to evade the peace terms. This time the Dutch took possession of his city..." (Hall: SEA, p.262). See also note to v.443d.
- (94) Noting that, up to the present, only one sja'ir - the 'Sja'ir Hémop' - has been edited at all satisfactorily, and that thanks to subsequent annotation and criticism

by W. Kern (Rusconi: SKW; Kern: ASH), a simpler justification might be to quote the proverb:

"daripada tjempedak baik angka".

- (95) v.67-69.
- (96) Heeres: CDN, p.417.
- (97) cf. v.44-63.
- (98) cf. v.262-263, where he gives a reasonably accurate phonetic transcription of the names of the English Factors at Macassar.
- (99) v.69b.
- (100) cf. van Dam: BOC, p.251: "Doen Macasser in voorgaende tyden in zijn voornaemste fleur en een considerable coopstadt was, waren 't eygentlijk de Macassaren niet, dewelcke dien grooten handel dreven, maer de inwoonende Maleyers, Mooren, etc., en dat meest buyten 's lands, als na Manilha, Siam, Cambodia, Quinam, Borneo, Timor en elders, die oock in soodaniger getale daer waeren aengegroeyt en vermenigvuldigt, dat de Maleyers alleen in den beginne van desen oorlog (i.e. Speelman's campaigns: C.S.) wel twee duysent musquettiers hadden uytgemaect, waervan de koninck hem bysonderlijk heeft weten te bedienen, oock aen denselven een seer groot behulp toegebracht hebben."
- (101) v.105-107.

- (102) That he is a Malay may be deducted not merely from his occupation but also from the fact that the author, who after the manner of his age, is most punctilious in referring to his characters by their correct titles, nowhere refers to the Djuru Datjing by any form of Macassarese title.
- (103) v.378-386.
- (104) DAG, p.273-276. The letter was written on 18th September 1668.
- (105) v.427-428.
- (106) i.e. the Sultan of Gowa.
- (107) DAG (1669), p.274. The line "sabarlah ia sekalian diam" finds another echo in the phrase "... in dit alles hebben de Macassaren geswegen..." (p.275).
- (108) Heeres: CDN, p.417.
- (109) BMA, p.302.
- (110) v.527a.
- (111) v.528a.
- (112) In the verses preceding v.527, the word "Amin" occurs only three times, its latest occurrence being in v.69. "Ambon", on the other hand, is mentioned no less than twelve times in the verses preceding v.527, its earliest occurrence being in v.134, and its latest occurrences in v.495 and v.496. For a later copyist unacquainted

with the author, any doubt between "Ambon" and "Amin", in v.525-528, would be much more likely to be resolved in favour of the more deeply established engram "Ambon".

(113) Unlike the copyist of L, the copyist of S often seems to be at fault in transcribing proper names. Thus, for "Tunderu", he usually writes "t-n-d-ū-r", while "Ternaté" is more than once spelt "t-r-n-ā-n-î" (e.g. in v.365c) and once even as "t-r-n-n-t-î" (v.495b). The inference is that the copyist of S is not only a much later copyist than the copyist of L, but also that he is probably from the West of the archipelago (e.g. Sumatra) rather than from the East. It is unlikely that an 'Easterner' would make so many mistakes in copying out the well-known name of "Ternaté". See also "Spelling of the mss".

(114) Doorenbos: GHP, p.37. For other possible reminiscences of Hamzah see notes to v.160d and v.205b.

(115) v.2. The expression of such sentiments in the doxologies of secular sja'irs seems to be rare. Apart from the Hamzah sja'irs the present writer has met with such statements in the doxology of only one other sja'ir, the "Sja'ir Perang Siak (I)", the

first verse of which reads:

"Bismi'llah itu suatu s-m-ā (? asma)
 suatu disebut mula pertama
 zat dan sifat keduanya sama
 perhimpunan udjud sekalian nama." (SPS).

- (116) Doorenbos: GHP, p.108. cf. also *ibid*, p.51, p.83
 for repetition of the sentiments.
- (117) v.146.
- (118) Doorenbos: GHP, p.70. Doorenbos spells "mukammal",
 but the rhyme scheme demands "mukam(m)il" (cf. Johns:
 MSU, p.38.)
- (119) van Nieuwenhuijze comments: "De gedachte der eenheid
 komt het sterkst naar voren in de herhaaldelijk
 geponeerde doctrine van de eenheid van dāt en sifāt
 (men stelle hiernaast ter vergelijking al-Ranîrî...)"
 and quotes Sjamsuddin's "Al-sifātu lā ghairun min al-
dāt, artinja jang sifāt itu tiada lain daripada dāt."
 (Nieuwenhuijze: SVP, p.84-86.)
- (120) For Sjaich Jusuf, see Cense: VSJ, p.50-57.
- (121) v.146.
- (122) See note to v.144d.
- (123) See note to v.146c and notes to v.146d.
- (124) The use of "sederhana" to qualify "pandak" suggests
 that the writer is trying just a little too hard to

prove that his shortness was not below the average (v.68b).

(125) The description of himself given in v.67-69 can scarcely be described as modest.

(126) One could, in fact, distinguish him by his brand of scent, which "made his body give out a fragrant odour" (v.68).

(127) v.69b.

(128) DAG (30th May 1669), p.331.

(129) v.502a.

(130) v.348a.

(131) v.348b.

(132) v.355c.

(133) v.355a.

(134) v.356a.

(135) Cf. "ia memakai serba kesumba" (v.354b). His courage appeared to match his dandyism, cf. v.480-481 and v.502-503.

(136) v.354a.

(137) v.352b.

(138) It is interesting to note that no comparisons are made with any of the Muslim heroes. Islam had been established in Macassar for only just over 50 years (see Stapel: HBV, p.4) and the Muslim stories might

not be too well known. However, in v.9 the heroic Caliph 'Ali is referred to as "The Tiger of God" - a Malayanization (possibly via India) of the Arabic and Persian epithets for him. Possibly our author is just frightened of appearing too irreverent?

(139) v.358c.

(140) v.465c.

(141) The title is perhaps commoner in the puppet-plays than in the hikajats (see e.g. Hardjowirogo: SWP, p.87; Salmoen: PDP, p.179.)

(142) Stapel: HBV, p.179.

(143) cf. the manner in which Tolstoj reproduces the speech of his milieu in "War and Peace" and "Anna Karenina".

(144) e.g. Sufism, which the Macassarese, like many other Indonesian races, seem to have welcomed enthusiastically, perhaps because offering a rationale more intellectually satisfying than hitherto - because couched in a foreign, and hence 'scientific' language - for beliefs going back many centuries.

(145) 'Original', that is, in terms of the 17th century, which in general would no doubt have agreed wholeheartedly with George Moore in limiting 'plagiarism' to "taking something from one man and making it worse".

(146) In England, it was not until 1773 that the 'Great Cham' of English letters could declare: "We are done with

patronage" (Boswell: HEB, p.59). Even so, it was only a decade or so earlier that disappointment with a prospective patron (Lord Chesterfield) caused Johnson to change the couplet

"Yet mark what ill's the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the garrett and the jail."

to

"Yet mark what ill's the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail"

(Boswell: JOH, p.264 and footnotes.)

(cf. also the definition of "patron" given in Johnson's 'Dictionary' - "commonly a wretch who supports with insolence and is paid with flattery" - the heat of which seems to indicate that the patron was still a very real feature of English literary life at the time.)

(147) cf. v.13.

(148) For these, and other, references, see "Index of Proper Names".

(149) v.144-148 and v.403-405.

(150) v.406-412.

(151) The space devoted to this otherwise not particularly conspicuous figure and his family prompts the conjecture that there is some special connection between him and the author, a relationship by birth or

marriage, or perhaps merely that of friendship.

- (152) Interestingly enough, both the "Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar" and the "Annus Mirabilis" are mainly devoted to describing campaigns fought against the Dutch, and the terms used by Dryden to describe his enemies ("the haughty Belgians", "like greedy Hinds", "the boastful Dutch" etc.) are often strangely reminiscent of those used by our author. More objective than Dryden, Entji' Amin makes no bones about admitting that the Macassarese were soundly beaten, whereas the English poet contrives to give the impression that a campaign that an impartial annalist has described as "marking the low point of English naval power" (Ploetz: EWH, p.433), was in fact a great and glorious victory for the English navy. Interesting too is the fact that at a time when Entji' Amin was the Sultan of Gowa's 'writer', Dryden was appointed to the post of Poet Laureate (in 1668), thus becoming in effect 'the King of England's 'writer'.' (Hooker and Swedenberg: WJD, p.68, p.76, p.80 - the quotations from the "Annus Mirabilis" - and p.259.)

(153) v.144-148.

(154) v.403-405.

(155) v.144-148. The poem is 534 verses long.

(156) v.403-405.

- (157) v.67-69.
- (158) i.e. v. 204-206, v.291-292, v.303, v.413.
- (159) v.527-528.
- (160) v.291-292.
- (161) Much of Winstedt's enthusiasm for the "Sedjarah Melaju" comes from the "vivid sketches of court life" presented by the annalist (Winstedt: SEJ, p.29).
Similarly, the only Malay genre to win from him the praise "genuine literature" is that of the penglipur lara stories, valued because of the "vivid pictures" they contain (Winstedt: HML, p.24.)
- (162) In the field of historiography, perhaps only Radja Ali is worthy of comparison with the author of the "Sedjarah Melaju" for his efforts at characterisation (see e.g. Skinner: PMB, p.32-33.)
- (163) v.33d.
- (164) v.76d.
- (165) v.34d.
- (166) v.506b, cf. also v.491, v.499.
- (167) v.509b.
- (168) v.95-96 and v.484-485.
- (169) v.472a.
- (170) v.400.
- (171) v.73.
- (172) See the short biography of Aru Palakka (unsigned, in

fact written by W.P. van Hoëvell), APA, p.86-105.

(173) v.236.

(174) v.235.

(175) v.470.

(176) v.140.

(177) v.173-174.

(178) v.374c.

(179) v.372c.

(180) v.374b.

(181) v.383c.

(182) v.394.

(183) Stapel: HBV, p.181 (foot-note 1) says that the panic that arose was checked by the calm bearing of Speelman and Hasanuddin.

(184) v.236-238.

(185) v.173-174.

(186) v.474.

(187) v.233. One is forced, reluctantly, to conclude that the word "béta" (in modern Malaya reserved exclusively for reigning Sultans) is not part of the parody. It is unlikely too that its use here represents an attempt on the part of the author to make the Bandanese speak Bandanese or Ambonese Malay (in which "béta" is the normal first person singular pronoun), for the author puts it into the mouth of such non-Bandanese

characters as Aru Palakka (e.g. in v.32d, 33d, 34d etc.) and the son of the Sjahbandar Tua (e.g. in v.372a). One might conclude that the word was in fairly general use in the Eastern part of the archipelago, with little if any of the honorific overtones it now possesses.

- (188) One should perhaps say: 'the works attributed to Hamzah Fansuri' cf. Teeuw's remark (about the "Sja'ir Dagang"): "De slechte kwaliteit van het rijm is dan ook alleen al een sterk (niet het enige) argument tegen Hamzah's vermeend auteurschap" (Teeuw: TEV, p.26, note 26a.)
- (189) Testibus Overbeck, Alisjahbana etc. cf. e.g. Pané: MIL, p.8, p.13.
- (190) v.1-28.
- (191) van Ronkel: MAL, p.312-366.
- (192) i.e. "Sja'ir Perang Bandjarmasin" (ibid., p.345-346), "Sja'ir Perang Kaliwangoe" (ibid, p.346), "Sja'ir Perang Muntinghe (II)" (ibid., p.347), "Sja'ir Perang Wangkang" (ibid., p.348), "Sja'ir Radja Siak" (ibid., p.349) and "Sja'ir Soeltan Mahmôed di Lingga" (ibid., p.349-350).
- (193) "Sja'ir Soeltan Mahmôed di Lingga", whose first verse runs:

"Bismi'llah itu mula dikata
dengan nama Allah Tuhan semata
kemudian tersebut Sultan mahkota
dinegeri Lingga Sultan bertachta."

- (194) The earliest would appear to be the "Sja'ir Perang Muntinghe (II)" telling of an unsuccessful Dutch attempt to capture Palembang in 1819.
- (195) Some of which at least - whatever date they may have been copied - surely date from the 17th century and earlier.
- (196) The opening line of the "Sja'ir Damar Woelan" (van Ronkel: MAL, p.317).
- (197) *ibid.*, p.324-325.
- (198) *ibid.*, p.319.
- (199) *ibid.*, p.330.
- (200) *ibid.*, p.341.
- (201) *ibid.*, p.322.
- (202) *ibid.*, p.357. Data drawn from van Ronkel: MAL (summarised below) suggest that, as might be expected, the absence of a doxology is not typical of the 'religious' sja'irs as a whole.
- (203) Striking enough to tempt one to discover a similar patterning in the length of the episodes in the main body of the text. Examination however fails to reveal

much more than a preference for shorter, as opposed to longer, episodes, presumably as being less likely to cause ennui.

- (204) "... responsible for the twenty-eight "rejang" into which the lunar month of the Malay was divided" (Winstedt: TMM, p.33.)
- (205) e.g. in v.46b etc. Included as it is in Wilkinson: MED, one might well dispute the word's 'Macassarese' status.
- (206) v.175d etc.
- (207) v.191c.
- (208) v.191d etc.
- (209) Termed "een typische vertegenwoordiger van het Bandjarees-Maleis sja'ir genre" by Kern: ASH, p.214.
- (210) cf. Kern: KVK, p.299-306. Some idea of the 'non-Malay' character of the "Salasilah Kutai" may be obtained from noting that in Hooykaas' anthology, the brief (seven-page) excerpt from this work requires no less than 82 foot-notes, only two of which refer to people or places (Hooykaas: PER, p.328-335.)
- (211) Iskandar: HIK, p.9. Similarly, the language of that part of the "Adat Atjeh" considered by its editors to be most nearly contemporary with our sja'ir is described as having a "strong Achèhnese colouring" (Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, p.19.)

- (212) Winstedt: HML, p.112.
- (213) For details, see 'Manuscripts'.
- (214) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.132.
- (215) cf. "marhum mangkat didjulang" (Sultan Mahmud II),
 "marhum mangkat dikuala Pahang" (Sultan 'Abdu'l-
 Djalil III) ('Ali: TNT, p.28, p.41 etc.) The
 contemporary Macassar Court Diary regularly refers to
 members of the royal family by their posthumous titles,
 even when recording deeds accomplished when the persons
 concerned were still alive (see Ligtvoet: DVG, passim.)
- (216) Now that the status of the Minjé Tudjuh 'sja'ir' has
 been placed in dispute (see Marrison: MPO) there are
 remarkably few 'runners' in this particular field.
- (217) Werndly: MSK. De Hollander: HMT, p.306 and Juynboll:
 CMS, p.12-13 say that the quotation is to be found in
 the "Boekzaal"; it is in fact in the "Naberecht".
- (218) Pijnappel: MLB, p.142.
- (219) Juynboll: CMS, p.12-13. Largely on the strength of
 Juynboll's reference to it, the poem has been worth a
 line or two in most subsequent histories of Malay
 literature, but as the reference is based upon the
 fragment in Cod.Or.1626 (which contains less than one-
 seventh of the whole poem) such subsequent mentions of
 the poem savour of La Rochefoucauld's remarks on true
 love: "tout le monde en parle mais peu de gens en ont
 vu".

- (220) BMA, p.302.
- (221) Marsden: GML, p.127.
- (222) Dennys: CMB, p.251.
- (223) The 'insular arrogance' contained in this somewhat one-sided representation of affairs is in fact a tribute to Dutch predominance in the field.
- (224) van der Linden: EML, p.45-46.
- (225) Voorhoeve: LIM, p.8.
- (226) Werndly: MSK, in the "Naberecht"
- (227) Kern: ASH, p.221, "...omdat van Imhoff zonder twijfel de held van het verhaal is, wiens apotheose wordt gevonden in zijn bekering tot Mohammedaan."
- (228) v.32b.
- (229) v.73a.
- (230) v.79a.
- (231) v.112a.
- (232) It is perhaps worthy of note that Marsden, who obviously knew the sja^cir and possessed a virtually complete text, does not refer to it as the 'Sja^cir Speelman' in his 'Grammar' but only as "... a poem in my possession on the war between the King of Maṅgkāsar and the Dutch, under the famous Cornelis Speelman..." (p.127); cf. also BMA, p.302.
- (233) v.13.
- (234) v.524b.

(235) cf. the line "Tammattlah surat Hémop terbilang", quoted by Kern as proof that the sja^cir edited by Rusconi was originally known as the "Sja^cir Hémop" (Kern: ASH, p.221).

(236) Quoted in Stapel: CJS, p.66.

MANUSCRIPTS

The present text is based upon two mss. - the only two mss. of the poem that appear to have survived. One of these, in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies will be referred to here as S, while the other, containing less than a quarter of the text, in the Library of the University of Leiden, will be referred to here as L. Details of the two mss. are as follows:

S. (SOAS ms. No. 40324)

This forms part of the Marsden collection of mss. bequeathed by Marsden to King's College, London, on his death in 1836, and transferred in 1918 to the Library of what is now the School of Oriental and African Studies. Numbered 40324, it consists of 38 pages, of which 36 (more exactly 70 sides) are devoted to the text. It is written in a legible (though hardly calligraphic) Jawi hand quite different from that used by the copyist of L.⁽¹⁾ Each side of a page contains from eighteen to fourteen lines (a 'line' of the ms. being two lines, or half a verse, of the text as printed here). Each page, but not each side, is numbered, except the first page, which serves as a cover. (In the text as edited, the reverse side of a page is indicated by the addition of the letter 'a' to the page number of the obverse side).

The text of the ms. begins on page 1a. Page 1 has the following superscription: "The Conquest of Mangkasar or Macassar, by the united forces of the Hollanders and Bûgis, under the command of Admiral Cornelis Speelman and Raja Palaka, in the year 1667.⁽²⁾ A Poem in the Malayan language by Inchî Ambun". Apart from the now obsolete use of capital letters, the handwriting is sufficiently 'ancient' to use \int for an 'internal' letter 's', i.e. 'Macassar' is written 'Maca \int far'. In the same handwriting on the back cover (page 37a) is the inscription "With Mr. Griffiths's compliments to Mr. Marsden".

As to the date of the ms., Marsden was at Bencoolen (Bangkahulu) between 1771 and 1779 and might well have acquired it during that period. However, his interest in the Austronesian languages was life-long, and it might equally well have been presented to him (by the "Mr. Griffiths" mentioned in the superscription) long after he had left Sumatra. It is certain that it was in his hands before 1811, when the proofs of his "Grammar", in which the work was mentioned, were ready for the printer.⁽³⁾ Although S lacks the first 13 verses of the complete poem, there can be no suggestion that S has lost a page, for the text begins on the reverse side of the page bearing the superscription already mentioned. In other words, the obverse side of the page on which the text begins was deliberately left blank.

It would seem that S was copied from a ms. itself lacking the first 13 verses. It is probable that the missing 13 verses (allowing for the embellishments usual on the first pages of a ms.) have suffered a fate not uncommon to the first page of unbound mss.

It is clear, then, that S is not the 'ur-ms.'. Lacking the first 13 verses, it cannot be a copy of L.

L. (Cod.Or. Bibl. Lugd. 1626)

This forms the third and last part of Codex Orientalis 1626 in the Library of the University of Leiden.⁽⁴⁾ There are only six pages, containing a mere 73 verses of the complete poem. Rather strangely, no attempt has been made (except for a punctuation sign (" ") inserted at the end of a few verses)⁽⁵⁾ to separate one stanza from another, or even one line from another; as Juynboll remarks: "Daar 't doorlopend geschreven is, bemerkt men eerst niet dat het een gedicht is."⁽⁶⁾

Ms. 1626 was acquired by the University Library in 1848, together with other mss. once in the possession of François Valentijn,⁽⁷⁾ and though it is rare enough to be able to identify the copyist of any Malay ms., there seems reasonable evidence for concluding that the copyist of our fragment was none other than Valentijn's wife, Cornelia.

The possibility of making this identification is due largely to the 'detective-work' done by the late H.T.Damsté in tracking down the "Hikajat Nabi Musa" (Cod.Or.1625 in the Leiden University Library).⁽⁸⁾ In the course of his researches, Damsté discovered that a copy of the hikajat in the Utrecht University Library (Cod.Ms.Orient.No.8) was in the same handwriting as the "Afschrift van den brief des Konings van Batsjan, in 't Maleyths met een Arabische letter" included by Valentijn in his "Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien",⁽⁹⁾ which Valentijn informs us was copied "door Juffrouw Cornelia Valentijn".⁽¹⁰⁾ Damsté proceeds to give cogent reasons for concluding that the lady referred to was Valentijn's wife Cornelia (and not, as had sometimes been thought, his daughter.) In passing, Damsté observed that the handwriting of the Utrecht ms. was identical not only with that of the Batjan letter, but also "...met nog een paar andere Maleise geschriften (Hikajat Siburung Pingei etc.) die tezamen met Codex 1625 in 1848 voor de bibliotheek te Leiden gewonnen werden."⁽¹¹⁾ The "Hikajat Siburung Pingei" mentioned forms the first part of Cod.Or. 1626;⁽¹²⁾ the second part of this ms. - written in an identical hand - is our sja'ir-fragment. It follows therefore that L too was copied by Cornelia Valentijn,⁽¹³⁾ the wife of the man from whom the ms. was obtained.

For more light on this remarkable woman, the reader is referred to Damsté's article, but what concerns us more here is the possibility of dating L more precisely. Born c.1663, Cornelia was the widow of another Malaicus, Hendrik Leydekker, when she married François Valentijn on 12 October 1692, and even in the (unlikely) event of the copy having been made for Leydekker (died 1690), and not Valentijn, this could hardly have taken place before Cornelia had achieved a certain degree of maturity, for the handwriting is in a firm flowing hand that can in no way be described as 'immature'.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus the earliest possible 'terminus a quo' for L is c.1680. There are however other factors which strongly suggest that the most likely date for the copying of the fragment was in the first decade of the 18th century.

This deduction is based upon the answer to the question: why should Cornelia, in copying out our poem, deliberately ignore the features normally considered essential to the transcription of poetry by making no division between one line and another, and only very occasionally between one stanza and another?⁽¹⁵⁾ Not because she was unaware that she was copying verse, as is shown by the fact that on the few occasions that she does choose to use a punctuation sign, it is inserted in the correct place, i.e. separating

one stanza from another. The most reasonable answer for this indifference to the nature of the text is that the verses were copied merely to provide writing practice - not for the writer (whose calligraphy is far too accomplished), but for someone else. This someone else is very probably Cornelia's daughter, also called Cornelia, whose copying of the "Hikajat Nabi Musa" (in Cod. Or. 1625) is, as Damsté has shown, "...geen werkstuk van een oude of een jonge Cornelia, maar wel een leermiddel, bij aan de jonge Cornelia door de oude gegeven Maleise lessen." (16) It seems not unreasonable therefore to conclude that the reason for the 'verse-written-as-prose' nature of L is due to the fact that it too was intended as writing-practice, devised and copied by the mother for the benefit of the daughter. This daughter was baptised at Dordrecht on 2 April 1701 (17) and when only 13 years old was praised by a contemporary for her remarkable knowledge of Malay, Latin, Portuguese and Dutch. (18) So proficient was she in writing Malay in Arabic characters that when still only 13 she contributed a Malay version of the 'Paternoster' (written in the 'Jawi' script) to a work called "Oratio Dominica" (the 'Paternoster' translated into various languages, published in Amsterdam in 1715.) Assuming then that L was intended as writing practice for the young Cornelia, it can be dated at some

time between 1706 and 1714,⁽¹⁹⁾ i.e. when she would be aged between 5 and 13. It is probably no coincidence that the years 1706 and 1714 span, almost exactly, the years of her father's last 'tour' in Indonesia.⁽²⁰⁾

Summing up then: L was copied by Cornelia Valentijn, wife of Francois Valentijn (probably from a complete text that might just possibly have been the ur-ms.), c.1710; S was copied, probably in Sumatra, in the latter part of the 18th century, from a ms. lacking the first page of the text.⁽²¹⁾

N O T E S

- (1) Strictly speaking, S has not one but two copyist, for on p.22a the handwriting undergoes a change. The new copyist, using a thicker and scratchier stylus, continues until the bottom of p.26, when the original copyist, with the original (or an identical) stylus resumes and continues until the end of the poem.
- (2) The words "1666 to" are written between "year" and "1667" but have been struck out.
- (3) Marsden (Mrs.S.): MEM; the "Grammar" was not published until the following year.
- (4) Juynboll: CMS, p.12-13. The first section (11 pages) is devoted to the "Hikajat Siburung Pingai". There follows a blank page, after which come 18 pages of a work Juynboll (ibid., p.273-274) calls the "Hikajat Hari Kiamat". Finally come the six pages of our fragment, numbered 19 to 24 inclusive, i.e. continuing the numbering started by the "Hikajat Hari Kiamat" and not referring to the pages of the ms as a whole.
- (5) To be precise, after v.2, 15, 48(?), 49, 50, 56, 57, 58, and 59 - i.e. after only nine of the 72 complete verses of the ms.
- (6) Juynboll: CMS, p.13. The first two lines of the ms. th read:

"Bismi'llah itu suatu firman fardulah kita kepadanya iman muttasil pula dengan rahman" (end of line)

"hasil maksudnja pada jang budiman rahman itu suatu sifat tiada bertjerai dengan" (end of line), etc.

- (7) Damsté: SCV, p.174.
- (8) Damsté: SCV, p.164-179.
- (9) Valentijn: ONO, in the "Beschryving der Moluccos", eerste deel, facing p.120.
- (10) Valentijn, ibid.
- (11) Damsté: SCV, p.174.
- (12) Damsté does not mention one rather striking feature that links missionary Valentijn with the "Hikajat Siburung Pingei"; the doxology of the hikajat commences with the words "Nabi 'Isa ruh Allah ' -l-i[^] salam", written even before the "Bismi'llah" etc.
- (13) Commenting on Cornelia's handwriting in mss. other than our sja'ir-fragment, Damsté noted that among the more striking features of her rather individualistic style were: "Zo waar de 'nga' rechts verbonden aan het eind van een woord staat: het oog of de kop vormt dan een driehoek, waarvan de lange bovenzij sterk helt naar links. Dan de 'ia' die aan het eind van een woord er veelal uitziet als een 'kaf' waarvan de stok in scherpe hoek de boog van de onderbouw

ontmoet." (Damsté: SCV, p.174.) His remarks might apply word for word to our fragment.

- (14) Damsté: SCV, p.174 calls it "vlot lopend, eensoortig, ongekunsteld schrift, als van iemand die met vaste hand gewend is Arabisch schrift te schrijven..."
- (15) For details, see Note (5) above.
- (16) Damsté: SCV, p.176.
- (17) Damsté: SCV, p.171.
- (18) By David Wilkins in the 'Praefatio' to 'Oratio Dominica' (Damsté: SCV, p.170-171.)
- (19) For the sake of completeness, one should note that the absolute 'terminus ad quem' is the date of the elder Cornelia's death, 17 June 1717 (ENI, under 'Valentijn').
- (20) For the greater part of the time, Valentijn was stationed in Ambon (1707-1712), see ENI, under 'Valentijn'.
- (21) See also 'Spelling of the Mss.'

SPELLING OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The deductions made in the previous section as to the age and provenance of the mss. receive further support from a study of the spelling employed. It is noticeable that, particularly with regard to proper names, L is usually much closer to the correct form than is S, e.g. the name "Tunderu'",⁽¹⁾ spelt as such by the copyist of L, occurs in S sometimes as "t-n-d-r",⁽²⁾ sometimes as "t-ü-n-d-ü-r"⁽³⁾ and sometimes as "t-n-d-ü-r".⁽⁴⁾ Again, the word "sunderik", which L reproduces as such, with the glottal stop, appears to be confused with the word "sindir" by the copyist of S, who regularly spells it as "s-n-d-i-r"⁽⁵⁾ - rather as though faced by a word he had never seen before. Noteworthy too are the unsuccessful attempts made by the copyist of S to spell the not exactly uncommon name "Ternaté". Sometimes he spells it as "t-r-n-ā-n-i"⁽⁶⁾ and once even as "t-r-n-n-t-i".⁽⁷⁾ This evidence suggests that the copyist of L was closer to the events and personalities narrated - closer in time or space, or both - than the copyist of S, who often appears to be at a loss when confronted by the name of a person or thing more familiar in the East of the archipelago than in the West.

In view of the subject matter, one's first thought is to look for traces of Macassarese influence upon the

copyist of L, but - as was noted above in the case of vocabulary and style - such influence is difficult to find. One might perhaps see in L's "dj-n-r-ā-l"⁽⁸⁾ - as contrasted with S's "dj-n-d-r-ā-l"⁽⁹⁾ - a reflection of the speech habits of Macassarese, which, unlike Malay, has no need of a homorganic voiced stop (+ pepet-sound) to act as a liaison between a nasal and a liquid, but the fragmentary nature of L makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions. The much longer S obviously offers much greater scope for deductions of a phonological nature, although based as they are exclusively upon a written source, such deductions should be made with a certain amount of diffidence, particularly when, as is the case with S, consistency seems to have troubled the copyist not at all. Thus, noting that the copyist of S very often inserts an alif where modern standard Malay would require the pepet-sound, producing spellings such as "p-ā-r-ng"⁽¹⁰⁾ (perang), "d-ā-ng-r-k-n"⁽¹¹⁾ (dengarkan), "m-m-b-ā-r-î"⁽¹²⁾ (memberi) and even "k-ā-n-î-k-n"⁽¹³⁾ (kenaikan), one's first thought is of Minangkabau influence.⁽¹⁴⁾ However, one also notices that the, by modern standards, redundant alif is inserted not only in open syllables, but into closed syllables too and that spellings such as "b-r-p-r-ā-ng"⁽¹⁵⁾ (berperang), "s-d-ā-r-h-ā-n"⁽¹⁶⁾

(sederhana) and "m-ng-d-ā-p"⁽¹⁷⁾ (mengadap) are common, Concentrating, for example, on a word which is obviously one of the commonest in the sja⁶ir - "perang", which is used altogether some 79 times in the sja⁶ir, we find it spelt in the following ways:

as p-ū-ā-r-ng once
 as p-ā-r-ā-ng twice
 as p-ā-r-ng forty-four times
 as p-r-ā-ng twelve times
 as p-r-ng twenty times,

and although we may still feel that, in the copyist's dialect, the (modern) pepet-sound was pronounced (ā) à la Minangkabau, the conclusion will not perhaps be quite so compelling as before.

Again, forms such as S's "patub" (patut) and "musta⁶ib" (musta⁶id) which are certainly typical of Minangkabau Malay⁽¹⁸⁾ are also to be found in Riau-Johor⁽¹⁹⁾ and Achinese Malay:⁽²⁰⁾ "musta⁶ib", in fact, has been described as "gewone verbastering van moesta⁶id welke veel in mal(eische) hss. wordt aangetroffen".⁽²¹⁾ Likewise forms such as "gelab" (gelap) and "tutub" (tutup) may perhaps reflect certain of the characteristics of the copyist's dialect, but in that case it should be pointed out that such characteristics are apparently typical of

Bandjarese (Kutai) Malay too.⁽²²⁾ Similarly the use of the "me-" prefix without nazalization before an 'h', as is found in the sja'ir's "mehimpunkan",⁽²³⁾ is said to be typical of Minangkabau Malay:⁽²⁴⁾ it is however also found in Bandjarese Malay⁽²⁵⁾ and can also be encountered in the pages of the Riau-Johor "Tuhfat al-nafis".⁽²⁶⁾

Nevertheless, while it is true that each of the features commented on above can be found in one or more dialects other than that of the Minangkabau area, it is only the Minangkabau dialect, particularly that associated with the Agam district, that combines all the features mentioned. This fact, together with spellings such as "d-r-ā-dj"⁽²⁷⁾ for 'durdja' and "s-r-ā-b"⁽²⁸⁾ for 'serba', and the use of words such as "serau",⁽²⁹⁾ "(men)djaput"⁽³⁰⁾ and "perasaan"⁽³¹⁾ - whose 'Minangkabau' status is less open to dispute than many words so classified - do tend to suggest Minangkabau influence in the spellings adopted by the copyist of S.

In a sja'ir, the most likely source of information as to the pronunciation of the copyist and/or author lies in the end-rhymes used. It is significant therefore that "-au" appears to be a good rhyme for "-o/-u",⁽³²⁾ and "-ai" for "-é/-i"⁽³³⁾ thus enabling us to discard, once and for all, the (unlikely) hypothesis that our sja'ir

was the work of a Bandjarese copyist.⁽³⁴⁾ Significant too are the rhymes for "ketjil" provided in v.86, 195 and 314, showing that the word was pronounced as (kəci?) - a pronunciation typically 'western'.⁽³⁵⁾ Moreover, the end-rhymes of v.401 ("amiral", "kapal", "berchabar" and "Mengkasar") are characteristic of few Western dialects outside Minangkabau.⁽³⁶⁾

Summing up we may say that it is not unlikely that the copyist of S spoke a dialect of Malay something like that associated with the Minangkabau area, a conclusion that obtains some support from the proximity of the Minangkabau area to Bangkabulu (Bengkulen), where a former owner of the ms., Marsden, spent some eight years.

Not noted in the apparatus criticus are the following spelling peculiarities, which differ from modern practice:

- (1) The absence of final vowels, in particular "-ā", but occasionally "-î" (e.g. "b-ā-b" (v.119c) for "babi".)
- (2) The occasional insertion of final vowels, usually "-ā" (e.g. "p-r-ā-d-ā" (v.185c) for "perada".)
The particle "di-" is sometimes spelt "d-î-"⁽³⁷⁾ while "itu" is sometimes spelt "ā-î-t-ū".
- (3) The occasional absence of the vowel grapheme in a non-final open syllable (e.g. "r-n-t-k" (v.210d) for "rentaka".)

- (4) The frequent insertion of "-ā-" (and less frequently "-î-") where modern spelling has the 'e pepet' (e.g. "p-ā-r-ng" (v.317a) for "perang" and "p-î-t-î" (v.206d) for "peti".)
- (5) The insertion of "-ā-" into a closed syllable (e.g. "d-ā-n-d-ā-m" (v.428A- for "dendam".)
- (6) "tj" is frequently used for "dj" and vice versa.
- (7) "k" is frequently used for "g" and vice versa.
- (8) "s" is frequently used for "sj".
- (9) "sj" is occasionally used for "s", usually in words of foreign origin (e.g. "b-ng-sj-ā-w-ā-n" (v.151c) for "bangsawan".)
- (10) As frequently occurs in contemporary mss., (38) "bunji", "sunji" and their derivatives are usually, but not consistently, spelt as "b-ū-n-î" (39) and "s-ū-n-î". (40)
- (11) Contrary to modern practice, "h" is used:
 - (a) Initially (before words commencing with a vowel): It is fairly common to find spellings such as "h-ā-s-p" (v.182d) for "asap".
 - (b) Medially: This usage is not very common, but the Sanskrit-derived "semua" is regularly spelt with an "h" (e.g. "s-m-h-ā-nj" (v.234b) for "semuanja").

(c) Finally (in words ending with a vowel):

This usage is common (e.g.

"m-l-ū-k-h" (v.136d) for "Meluku".)

(12) A final glottal stop is represented sometimes by "q", sometimes by "-k" and sometimes by "-ʾ" (hamzah).

(13) Arabic-derived words:

Arabic-words obviously mis-spelt have (as far as the normative romanisation has allowed)⁽⁴¹⁾

been tacitly corrected, e.g. it has not been considered necessary to note in the apparatus criticus that the word "ṣāhib" has been spelt "ṣahîb".⁽⁴²⁾

However, the dividing line between 'mis-spelling' and "Malayanising" is not easily definable, and where the possibility of such 'Malayanising' exists, the apparatus gives the forms used by the copyist, e.g. in v.7b, the edited text, following Purwadaminta, has "termazkur", while the apparatus criticus shows that what the copyist in fact wrote was "t-r-m-l-ä-k-ü-r".

In passing, it may be noted that some twenty per cent of the Arabic-derived words used in the sja'ir are spelt incorrectly ('incorrectly', that is from an Arabic view-point) thus, in v.19c, "z-k-ċ-t" has been written for "zakāt".

Finally, one may note the following points:

The form "ā-m-ā-r-h" (amarah) occurs twice (v.261, v.399) but generally the form "m-ā-r-h" is preferred.

On one occasion (v.225b) the word "dan" occurs with the meaning of "dengan" (as it does in the Co.2016 ms. of Hamzah Fansuri), (43) but this is quite possibly an error.

The form "d-û-l-ā-p-n" is used for "delapan" (v.38a.)

N O T E S

- (1) See note to v.31d.
- (2) e.g. in v.31d.
- (3) e.g. in v.32a.
- (4) e.g. in v.76a.
- (5) e.g. in v.46b.
- (6) e.g. in v.365c.
- (7) v.495b.
- (8) e.g. v.32b.
- (9) e.g. v.35a.
- (10) e.g. in v.522a.
- (11) e.g. in v.500a.
- (12) e.g. in v.203d.
- (13) v.162a.
- (14) Particularly the Agam dialect, c.f. van der Torn: MSK, p.ix: "Naar het verschil in klinkers, dat het Minangkabausch van de Padangsche Bovenlanden vertoont, waar het R(iausch) een ě heeft, kan men twee onderdialecten onderscheiden: het Agamsch en het Tanah-Datarsch. Het eerst heeft voor de ě eene a: bĕras = barĕh; het tweede eene ô: bĕras = bôrĕh."
- (15) e.g. in v.44c.
- (16) v.68b.

- (17) e.g. in v.42b.
- (18) van der Toorn: MSK, p.xii gives "patub" as the normal spelling of 'patut' in Minangkabau writings.
- (19) cf. 'Ali: TNF, e.g. p.34, line 24.
- (20) cf. Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, e.g. folio 73b, line 10.
- (21) Kern: CSK, p.93.
- (22) Kern: KVK, p.299.
- (23) e.g. in v.157c.
- (24) cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p.61: "Het praefix (i.e. "ma-": C.S.) neemt geen nasaal aan, wanneer die beginletter is een klinker, eene h, r, l, ng, m, n of nj, bv....mahanta (Riau "meng(h)antar": C.S.)..."
- (25) Kern: KVK, p.300.
- (26) 'Ali: TNF, e.g. p. 66, line 10.
- (27) v.273a.
- (28) v.354b. cf. de Hollander: HMT, p.45 (Note 1):
In het Menangkabausch dialect wordt die ingevoegde doffe e zelfs wel door eene alif aangeduid, zoodat men "سرات" vindt voor "sereta" (serta)..."
- (29) v.126a.
- (30) v.152b.
- (31) v.531b.
- (32) e.g. in v.175.

- (33) e.g. in v.333. 'Visual' rhymes (i.e. graphic, not phonetic) are very rare in the sja'ir. The only examples appear to be v. 433, and perhaps v.201.
- (34) Kern: ASH, p.224 notes that "... in Bandjarees-Maleise sja'irs de tweeklank "ai" nooit op "i" of "é" zal rijmen, evenmin "au" op "oe" of "o"..."
- (35) The end-rhymes of the 3 verses quoted would seem to prove that "ketjil" was pronounced (kəci?). On this evidence, v.264, in which the end-rhymes are "pil" (the English name "Pearle" - see note to v.264a), "ketjil", "bedil" and "batil", suggests that all words ending in "-il" were pronounced with a glottal stop, which may be taken as another indication of 'Western,' if not Minangkabau, pronunciation.
- (36) cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p.xi: "de 'r' en 'l' als sluitletters worden niet uitgesproken: '-al' en '-ar' klinken als '-a'... 'maha' (mahal: C.S.), 'danga' (dengar: C.S.)." In v.70, the end rhymes are "muchtasar", djuak", "bawa(?)" and "kehendak", but as the "muchtasar" here is conjectural, it is perhaps unwise to draw any phonological conclusions from it.
- (37) cf. 'Ali: TNF, p.43, line 6.

- (38) For reasonably contemporary examples see e.g.
Drewes: BUR, p.44 etc., Doorenbos: GHP, p.22 etc.,
Johns: MSU, p.6 etc.
- (39) e.g. in v.349d.
- (40) e.g. in v.265a.
- (41) see 'System of Romanisation adopted'.
- (42) v.9c.
- (43) Doorenbos: GHP, p.4. Doorenbos does not say where,
but is presumably referring to p.93, line 30.

SYSTEM OF ROMANISATION ADOPTED

Although the phonetic structure of Malay cannot be termed complicated, efforts to reproduce it in Latin characters have resulted in a multitude of scripts, so many in fact that, rather than add to their number, it has been thought advisable here to choose one of the two systems that have been given the seal of governmental approval, i.e. the 'English-Malay' romanisation in force in the Peninsula and the 'Dutch-Indonesian' system current in Indonesia. The former, regrettably, labours under a burden of crescents and hyphens that may or may not reassure the non-Malays for whom (and by whom) it might seem to have been designed and I have therefore chosen to adopt the Indonesian system in romanising the text presented here.

Accordingly, the spelling used has been based, as far as possible on that used in the dictionary compiled by W.J.S. Purwadaminta,⁽¹⁾ a dictionary that is perhaps the most authoritative of current Indonesian dictionaries. Exceptions to Purwadaminta's spellings have been made in the following cases:

1. The Arabic letter 'ain (ع) is here regularly (not, as in Purwadaminta, selectively) reproduced by "e".

2. In proper names and titles, a Hamzah (ء) has been retained and reproduced by "' ", thus "Peté'né' " (and not "Petéknék"), "Entji' " (and not the now usual "Entjik"). In other cases it has not been considered necessary to retain the ms.'s hamzah (which would have led to spellings such as "masu' " for "masuk".)
3. Arabic words in the text that do not occur in Purwadaminta have been transliterated according to the following system:

ا	ā	ض	d
ب	b	ط	t
ت	t	ظ	z
ث	th	ع	e
ج	dj	غ	gh
ح	h	ق	r
خ	ch	ك	q
د	d	ل	k
ذ	dz	م	l
ر	r	ن	m
ز	z	و	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sj	و	ū/w
ص	s	ي	î/j (2)

(this system is also used in the apparatus criticus with the following additions:

ㄝ tj
 ㄥ ng
 ㄢ nj)

N.B. Outside of the text, this system has not been rigorously applied, e.g. the Sultan of Gowa is called "Hasanuddin" and not "hasan al-dîn" or "hasanu'(d)dîn".

References from authors with their own system of transliteration have been given in their original form.

It is understood, of course, that both 'Malay' and 'Indonesian' systems of romanisation, including that adopted here, involve not only standardisation, but standardisation in the direction of 'Riauisation'.⁽³⁾ It is hoped that the remarks made in the foregoing section will have made clear the main divergences from Riau-Johor usage as codified in the dictionaries. To avoid any doubt however, it should perhaps be emphasized here that the 'Minangkabau' tendencies noted above do not appear to enter the domain of morphophonemics, i.e., the copyists of both L and S have obviously done their best to confirm to the 'standard' Malay (but not Minangkabau)⁽⁴⁾ practice of

regularly using a liquid or nasal stem-formative with all 'be(r)-', 'te(r)-', 'pe(r)-' and 'me(Nasal)-' prefixes. As far as can be ascertained, the only exception to this practice appears to concern the one word 'mehimpunkan' which on two occasions⁽⁵⁾ is spelt as such (i.e. without the nasal stem-formative). All other verbal roots however, including those beginning with 'h',⁽⁶⁾ regularly appear with the nasal.

Non-Malay proper nouns have been romanised according to the spelling in the text; elsewhere, the correct (or conventional) spelling has been used.⁽⁷⁾

N O T E S

- (1) Purwadaminta: KUB.
- (2) The apparent inconsistency here (the use of a 'bar' over the vowels 'ä' and 'û', but a circumflex accent over the 'î') is the result of the writer's preference for a 'bar' (in all cases of vowel length) being frustrated by the position of the dot over the 'i' on the type-face of the writer's type-writer.)
- (3) The point has been forcefully made by Kern in his review of Mees: KVK (Kern: KVK, p.298.)
- (4) cf. the forms quoted by van der Toorn: MSK, p.86-121.

- (5) v.157c, v.497c.
- (6) e.g. "mengadap" (m-ng-d-p) in v.41d, "mengambat" (m-ng-m-b-t) in v.123a. In Minangkabau however, no nasal stem-derivative is used to connect the "ma-" prefix with verbal roots beginning with a vowel or an 'h' (cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p.61.)
- (7) e.g. "Keraéng Léngkés" in the text (v.47a), but "Karaéng Léngkésé" in the Translation, Notes, etc.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED

(A) Introduction and Notes

Works consulted are referred to by the name of the author(ess) followed by a three-letter 'code', explained in the Bibliography.

(B) Text

The capital letters and full stops used in the text as presented here are not, of course, to be found in the original mss.⁽¹⁾ With these exceptions, all material inserted by the editor is placed within brackets, e.g. "(kelam)" (v.6c).

Words/lines missing in the mss. are indicated by dots, e.g. in v.8.

(C) Apparatus Criticus

L refers to Cod.Or.Bibl.Lugd.1626; S to SOAS ms. 40324.

The numbers refer to the verses; the letters 'a', 'b', 'c' and 'd' to the first, second, third and fourth lines respectively of each verse.

(1) Although the curiously written L (see above, under 'Manuscripts') does appear to have some rudimentary system of full stops (perhaps due to its European copyist?), while S follows normal sja'ir practice in graphically distinguishing each line of verse.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SJA'IR

Introduction (v.1-28)

- verse 1-12 : doxology
 13-24 : dedication to and eulogy of the Sultan of Gowa.
 25-28 : author's apologies.

The War begins (v.29-91)

- 29-40 : VOC expedition prepares and sails to Macassar.
 41-66 : Macassarese declare their loyalty to the Sultan and defiance of the VOC.
 67-91 : exchange of letters between Sultan and VOC.

VOC expedition to Buton (v.92-133)

- 92-135 : defeat of the Macassar army under Karaéng Bonto Marannu.

VOC expedition visits the Moluccas (v.136-148).

- 136-143 : Sultan of Ternaté joins the expedition.
 144-148 : eulogy of Sultan of Gowa.

Bugis uprising (v.149-206)

- 149-174 : Sultan of Tallo' defeats Bugis at Mampu.
 175-183 : and at Patiro.
 184-203 : triumphal return to Macassar
 204-206 : author's apologies for inaccuracy.

The First Macassar Campaign (v.207-423)

- 207-222 : VOC fleet arrives before Macassar: Bantaéng stormed.
 223-239 : Speelman's envoy insulted.
 240-247 : Macassar prepares for the attack.
 248-282 : the first day of battle - bombardment and counter-bombardment.

- 283-290 : bombardment continues.
- 291-292 : 'please remember the author'.
- 293-306 : VOC attempt on Batu-Batu is beaten off.
- 307-324 : VOC attack on Galesong.
- 325-366 : VOC land at Batu-Batu: heavy fighting ensues.
- 367-385 : Macassar casualties.
- 386-401 : negotiations for peace; a panic.
- 402-414 : eulogies of the Sultans of Gowa and Tallo'.
- 414-423 : peace is concluded.

VOC at Udjung Pandang (v.424-459)

- 424-435 : VOC settle in; Macassarese disgust.
- 436-448 : some Macassarese Karaéngs go over to the VOC and join in the attack on Sanraboné.
- 449-459 : Macassar reinforcements sent to Sanraboné under Karaéng Djarannika.

The Second Macassar Campaign (v.460-513)

- 460-471 : The VOC attack on Sanraboné is beaten off.
- 472-477 : The English Factory is burnt down; a VOC attack is repulsed.
- 478-486 : fighting continues.
- 487-513 : storming of remaining Macassar defences; fort blown up; Macassarese retreat on Gowa.

Conclusion (v.514-534)

- 514 : the moral of the story.
- 515-519 : the final Macassar council-of-war.
- 520-524 : the author's summing-up.
- 525-534 : the author reveals his identity and makes his final apologies. Finis.

DATES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS MENTIONED
IN THE SJA'IR. (1)

1666

December 19	VOC expedition arrives at Macassar.
25	en route to Buton, VOC storm Bantaeng.

1667

January 1-2	Macassar army on Buton defeated.
February-June	Unsuccessful Bugis uprising against Macassar.
February-June	VOC expedition visits the Moluccas.
June-July	On its return, Palakka and Poleman sent on ahead to the South-West Celebes.
July 1	Bantaeng again stormed by the VOC.
19	Macassar bombarded.
31	Palakka and Poleman rejoin the main body.
August 18-19	Galésong stormed by the VOC.
September	Bitter fighting at Barombong.
October 23	Barombong stormed by the VOC.
November 18	Peace Treaty signed at Bungaja.

1668

April	Fighting breaks out again.
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1669

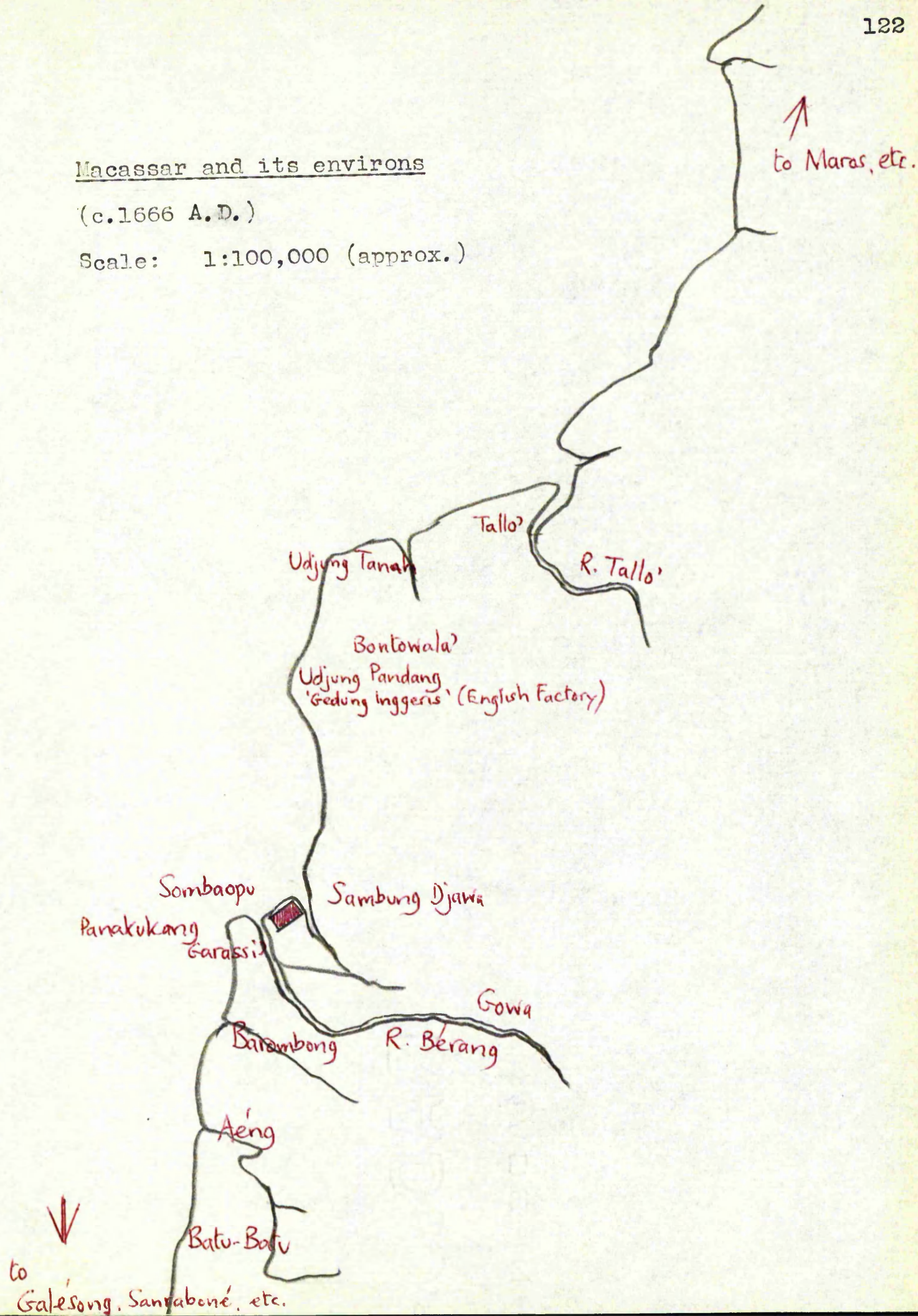
June 15-24	Sombaopu stormed by the VOC.
July 21-27	Peace Treaties signed.

(1) Based upon Stapel: HBV, CJS.

Macassar and its environs

(c.1666 A.D.)

Scale: 1:100,000 (approx.)



T E X T

As regards the text presented here, v.1-12 are lacking in S and are therefore based entirely upon L. Similarly, v.74-534 are lacking in L and are therefore necessarily based upon S. As regards v.13-73, I have, as a general rule, preferred the reading of L to S, on the grounds that L is far closer in time (and space) to the original text.⁽¹⁾

In a very few cases, the readings of S have been preferred, on grounds of style. Only too conscious however of the subjective nature of such 'feeling for style', such cases almost invariably amount to a simple preference for a line containing 4 'minimum free forms',⁽²⁾ to one containing only 3, e.g. in v.50a, S's "Bertjakap pula Keraéng Djaranika" has been preferred to L's "Bertjakaplah Keraéng Djaranika" on the grounds that the former comes closer to the 'ideal' sja'ir line⁽³⁾ than does the latter. In all cases, of course, the 'rejected' reading will be found in the apparatus criticus.

(1) See the arguments advanced in the previous sections.

(2) For this term, see e.g. Bloch and Trager: OLA, p.54.

(3) For this definition of the sja'ir line, see Hooykaas:

LML, p.71; Teeuw: TEV, p.9-10.

SJA'IR PERANG MENGKASAR

- (1) Bismi'llah itu suatu firman
fardulah kita kepadanja iman
muttasil pula dengan rahman
hasil maksudnja pada jang budiman.
- (2) Rahman itu suatu sifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi zat
njatanja itu tiada bertempat
barang jang bebal sukar mendapat.
- (3) Rahim itu sifat jang sedia
wadjiblah kita padanja pertjaja
barang siapa mendapat dia
dunia achirat tiada berbahaya.
- (4) Al-hamduli'llah tahmid jang adjla
njatanja dalam kalam Allah(ta)'ala
madah nin khusus bagi hakikah
sebab itulah dikarang oleh wali Allah.
- (5) Setelah sudah selesai pudjinja
salawat pula akan nabinja
disanalah asal mula tadjallinja
kesudahan tempat turun wahinja.
- (6) Muhammad itu nabi jang chatam
mengadjak kehadiran rabb al-'alam
sungguhpun dahulu njatanja (kelam)
daripada pantjarnja sekalian 'alam.
- (7) Salawat itu masjhur lafaznja
telah termazkur pada machluknja
Allahumma salli 'alaihi akan agamanja
disanalah njata sifat djamalnja.
- (8)
.....
selesailah sudah mengutjap salawat
memudji pula akan sahabat.

Verses 1 to 13 in L only.

1b: iman (āmin); 1c: muttasil (mutasalla); 1d: hasil (hāsal);
 4b: (ta)'ala (ʿ-l-ī); 4c: nin (t-rʿ), hakikah (huq-ʿ-āt); 5a: selesai
 (s-l-s-ī-h); 5b: nabinja (b-nj-ī-nj); 6b: mengadjak (m-ʿ-adj-q),
 'alam (ʿālamīn); 7b: termazkur (t-r-m-l-ā-k-ū-r); 7c: salli 'alaihi
 (s-l-ʿ-l-ī); 7d: djamalnja (h-m-l-nj).

- (9) Pertama sahabat Abu Bakar
sangat berbuat 'ibadat serta sabar
akan nabi sahib al-mimbar
mengerdjakan sabil dengan si kuffār
beroléh rahmat Tuhan malik al-djabbar.
- (10) Kedua sahabat baginda 'Umar
kepada nabi terlalu gemar
sujudnja daim fi'l-lail wa'l-nahar
tjahaja wadjahnja seperti sjamsu wa'l-kamar.
- (11) Ketiga sahabat baginda 'Uthman
kekasih nabi achir zaman
ialah menurut seperti firman
mengarang surat bernama furkan.
- (12) Keempat sahabat baginda 'Ali
lagi menantu kepada nabi
gagahnja indah tiada terperi
harimau Allah ia dinamai.
- (13) Patik persembahkan suatu nazam
kebawah duli makota 'alam
mentjeriterakan daulat Sjahi 'alam
mengeraskan sjari'at siang dan malam.
- (14) Tuanku Sultan jang amat ghana (1a)
sempurna 'arif lagi bidjaksana
mengetahui 'ilmu empat belas laksana
mendapat hakikat jang amat sempurna.
- (15) Djundjunganku radja jang budiman
terlalu tahu hadis dan firman
akan sabda nabi sangatlah aman
bagindalah kekasih nabi achir zaman.
- (16) Baginda itulah radja jang saléh
daripada awal sudah terpilih
membatja kur'an sangatlah fasih
beroléh pangkat jang amat lebih.

Verses 1 to 13 in L only.

9d : kuffār (k-ū-f-r); 9e: sic; 13a: nazam (n-z-ā-l-m); 13c: Sjahi
(s-î-ā-2); 14a: ghana (L:ghani); 14b: L omits "lagi"; 14d: sempurna
(S:fana); 15b: tahu hadis (L: tahu akan hadis); 15d: bagindalah
(S: ialah baginda); v.16 in L only.

- (17) Tuanku Sultan jang amat sakti
akan Allah dan rasul sangatlah bakti
sutji dan ichlas didalam hati
seperti air ma'al-hajati.
- (18) Daulatnja bukan barang-barang
seperti manikam sudah dikarang
djikalau dihadap segala hulubalang
tjahaja durdjanja gilang gemilang.
- (19) Radja berani sangat bertuah
hukumnja 'adil kalbunja murah
segenap tahun zakat dan fitrah
fakir dan miskin sekalian limpah.
- (20) Sultan di Gowa radja jang sabar
berbuat 'ibadat terlalu gemar
mendjauh nahi mendekatkan amar
kepada pendeta baginda beradjar.
- (21) Bagindalah radja jang amat elok
seraksi dengan adinda di Telo'
seperti embun jang amat sedjuk
tjahajanja limpah pada segala machluk.
- (22) Tiadalah habis gharib katakan
sempurnalah baginda mendjadi Sultan
dengan saudaranja sangat berpatutan
seperti emas mengikat intan.
- (23) Bidjaksana sekali berkata-kata
sebab berkapit dengan pendeta
djikalau mendengar chabar berita
sadarlah baginda benar dan dusta.
- (24) Kekal ikrar apalah tuanku
seperti air zamzam didalam sangku
barang kehendak sekalian berlaku
tenteranja banjak bersuku-suku.

v. 17 in L only. 17d: ma'al-hajati (m-ä-'-ä-l-dj-'-t); 18b: S: tjahaja durdjanja gilang gemilang; 18d: durdjanja (d-r-dj-t), (S: bertjahajanja muka seperti bulan jang terang); 19a: bertuah (L: berbuat); 19b, 19c in L only; 19c: zakat (z-k-'-t); 19d: S: sekalian fakir diberinja sedekah; 20a: L omits "di"; 20c: S: mendjauhkan nahi mendekati amar; 20d: beradjar (L: belajar); 21a: S: Baginda itu sultan jang elok; 21b: seraksi (s-l-q-s-ä), Telo' (Telo'lah), S: berkilat-kilat wadjah dan chuluk; 21d: segala (S: sekalian); 22d: mengikat (L: diikat); 23a: L: Bidjaksana sekali pada berkata-kata; 23b: S: mulianja sangat akan pendeta; 23c: chabar berita (S: chabar dan berita); 23d: sadarlah (S: tahulah); 24a: ikrar (S: kiranja), apalah (L: p-ä-n-h); 24b: S omits "air", zamzam (S: z-m-ä-n); 24c: kehendak (S: kehendaknja).

- (25) Patik persembahkan suatu rentjana
mohonkan ampun dengan karunia
aturnja djanggal banjak ta' kena
karena akalnja belum sempurna. 2
- (26) Mohonkan ampun gharib jang fakir
menjatakan asma didalam sja'ir
maka patikpun berbuat sindir
kepada negeri asing supaja lahir.
- (27) Tuanku ampun fakir jang hina
sindirnja tidak betapa bena
menjatakan asma radja jang ghana
supaja tentu pada segala jang bidjaksana.
- (28) Maka patik berani berdatang sembah
harapkan ampun karunia jang limpah
tuanku ampun hamba Allah
karena aturnja banjak jang salah.
- (29) Tamatlah sudah memudji Sultan
tersebutlah perkataan Welanda sjaitan
Kornilis Sipalman penghulu kapitan
tatkala ke Buton membawa angkatan.
- (30) Demikian asal mula pertama
Welanda dan Bugis bersama-sama
Kornilis Sipalman Welanda ternama
Radja Palaka djadi panglima.
- (31) Berkampunglah Welanda sekalian djenis
berkatalah Djenderal kapitan jang bengis
djikalau alah Mengkasar nin habis
Tunderu' kelak radja di Bugis.
- (32) Setelah didengar oleh si Tunderu'
kata Djenderal Welanda jang mabuk
berbangkitlah ia daripada duduk
betalah kelak dimedan mengamuk.

25b: mohonkan (S: memohonkan); 25c: ta' kena (L: t-k-n-ä); 25d: karena (S: daripada), akalnja (S: akal); 26a: Mohonkan (S: Memohonkan), fakir (L: q-s-t); 26c: maka patikpun (S: sebabpun patik); 26d: negeri asing (L: negeri jang asing); 27a: Tuanku ampun (S: Inilah sembah); 27c: ghana (S: gh-i-n); 27d: S omits "pada"; 29a: Tamatlah (S: Setelah); 29b: sjaitan (L: k-ü-f-r); 30d: Radja Palaka (L: Radja Palaka kelak); 31a: L: Berkampung-kampunglah jang n-dj-s-n; 31b: Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ä-l, S: amiral), jang bengis (S: iblis); 31c: L: djikalau Welanda jang alah Mengkasar habis; 31d: Tunderu' (L: Tunderu'lah, S: s-t-n-d-r), kelak (L: k-ä-t); 32a: si Tunderu' (S: s-t-ü-n-d-ü-r); 32b: Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ä-l), S: kata Welanda djender(al) kutuk.

- (33) Akan tjakap Bugis jang dusta
sehari kubedil robohlah kota
habis k^uambil segala harta
perempuan jang baik bahagian beta. ** sel*
- (34) Djika sudah kita alahkan
segala hasil beta persembahkan
perintah negeri kita serahkan
keradjaan di Boné Tunderu^u pohonkan.
- (35) Setelah didengar oléh Djenderal
tjakap Tunderu^u orang jang bebal
disuruhnja berlengkap segala kapal
seorang kapitan didjadikan amiral.
- (36) Putuslah sudah segala musjawarat
Welandan dan Bugis membawa alat
beberapa senapang dengan sangat
sekalian soldadu didalam surat. (2a)
- (37) Tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu jang muda-muda
memakai kamsol tjara Welandan
rupanja sikap seperti Garuda
bermuatlah kekapal barang jang ada.
- (38) Delapan belas kapal jang besar
semuanja habis menarik lajar
turunlah angin barat jang besar
sampailah ia kenegeri Mengkasar.
- (39) Dilaut Barombong kapal berlabuh
kata si Bugis mati dibunuh
djikalau radja datang menjuruh
semuanja tangkap kita perteguh.
- (40) Pada sangkanja Bugis dan Welandan
dikatanja takut gerangan baginda
tambahan Bugis orang jang bida'ah
barang katanja mengada-ngada.

vv. 33-34 in L only; 35a: Setelah (S: Demi), Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ä-l); 35b: Tunderu^u (S: si Bugis); 35c: segala (S: sekalian); 35d: amiral (S: ä-m-b-r-l); 36a: L omits "segala"; 36b: dan (L: dengan), membawa alat (L: orang bida'ah); 36c, 36d in S only; 37a: enam (L: empat); 37b, 37c in S only; 37d: S: bermuatlah Bugis Welandan k-ü-f-r / barang jang ada dibawanja kekapal; 38a: Delapan (düälāpan); 38b: habis (S: itu); 38c: barat (L: ribut); 38d: L omits "negeri"; 39a: Barombong (S: r-m-b-ng), berlabuh (L: b-r-l-ä-j-ü?); 39b: kata si (L: akan kata); 39c: radja datang (S: radjanja kelak); 39d: kita (S: ikat); v. 40 in L only; 40a: Bugis dan Welandan (Welandan dan Bugis).

- (41) Segala ra'jat jang melihat
ada jang suka ada jang dahsat
sekalian ra'jat berkampung musjawarat
masuk mengadap duli hadrat.
- (42) Daéng dan Karé masuk kedalam
mengadap duli makota 'alam
berkampunglah segala kaum Islam
menantikan titah Sjahi 'alam.
- (43) Akan titah baginda Sultan
siapatah baik kita titahkan
tanjakan kehendak Welanda sjaitan
hendak berkelahi kita lawan.
- (44) Menjahut baginda Keraéng Ketapang
Keraéng wé djangan hatimu bimbang
djikalau Welanda hendak berperang
kita kumpulkan sekalian orang.
- (45) Dititirlah hobat genderang pekandjar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
berhimpunlah ra'jat ketjil dan besar
adalah gégér negeri Mengkasar.
- (46) Bertjakaplah baginda Keraéng Popo'
mentjabut sunderik jang amat élok
barang dimana ketumbukan si Tunderu'
biarlah aku kesana masuk.
- (47) Mengaru pula Keraéng Léngkés
mentjabut sunderik serta memekis
djikalau sekadar Welanda dan Bugis
daripada tertawan remaklah habis.
- (48) Keraéng Garasi' radja jang tua
bertjakap dihadapan anakanda kedua
barang kerdja akulah bawa
karena badankupun sudahlah tua.

41b: suka (S: gentar), dahsat (L: duka hati); 41c: L: sekalian berkampung duduk musjawarat; 42d: Sjahi (L: duli sjah; S: sähf); 43a: Akan titah (S: menitah b-ā-g-ī); 43b: siapatah (L: siapa); 43c: sjaitan (L: k-ū-f-r); 43d: berkelahi kita (S: berkelahi ia boléh kita); 44a: baginda (S: Keraéng), Keraéng (S: b-ā-g-ī); 44b: L omits "wé"; 45a: dititirlah (S: d-t-ī-t-nj), pekandjar (S: perkandjar); 45d: negeri (S: ditanah); 46a: Bertjakaplah baginda (S: Pertama bertjakap); 46b: sunderik (L: s-t-n-d-r-q, S: s-n-d-ī-r); 46c: si Tunderu' (S: s-t-n-d-ū-r); 47b: sunderik (L: s-t-n-d-r-q, S: s-n-d-ī-r); 47c: sekadar Welanda (L: sekadar si Tunderu' Welanda); 47d: remaklah (S: baiklah); 48a: Garasi' (L: k-r-s-k); 48b: anakanda (L: t-j-n-dj-d); 48d: sudahlah (S: sudah).

- (49) Keraéng Bonto Madjanang saudara Sultan
sikapnja seperti harimau djantan
barang kemana patik dititahkan
Welanda dan Bugis sadja kulawan.
- (50) Bertjakap pula Keraéng Djaranika
mérak padam warnanja muka
Welanda Bugis andjing tjelaka
haramlah aku memalingkan muka.
- (51) Keraéng Pandjalingang radja jang bidjak
melompat mentjabut keris pandak
djikalau undur patik nin kelak
kepada perempuan suruh tempelak.
- (52) Keraéng Bonto Sunggu radja élok
bertjakap dihadapan Radja Telo'
biarlah patik mendjadi tjutjuk
Welanda dan Bugis sadja kuamuk.
- (53) Keraéng Balo' radja jang muda
bertjakap dihadapan paduka kakanda
djikalau sekad(ar) Bugis dan Welanda
barang dititahkan patiklah ada.
- (54) Akan tjakap Keraéng Sanderaboné
mentjabut sunderik baru ditjanai
djikalau sekadar Sopéng dan Boné
tambah lagi Sula' dengan Burné.
- (55) Djikalau ia mau kemari
sekapur sirih ia kuberi
djikalau Allah sudah memberi (3a)
si laf'nat Allah kita tampari.
- (56) Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé'
ia berkandjar mentjabut sunderik
berdiri melompat seraja bertempik
barang dimana dititahkan patik.

49a: Madjanang (S: m-n-tj-n-ng); 49b: sikapnja (S: sikapnja itu); 50a: Bertjakap
pula (L: Bertjakaplah), Djaranika (L: dj-r-ā-n-ī-k-q); 50c: Welanda Bugis
(S: Welanda dan Bugis); 50d: aku (S: patik); 51b: keris pandak (S: keris jang
pandak); 51c: undur (L: ā-n-d-r nī-n); v.52 in L only; 53b: paduka (L: p-ū-t-k);
53c: sekad(ar) (S: s-q-d, L omits), dan (L: dengan); 54a: Akan tjakap
(S: Mengaru pula); 54b: sunderik (S: s-n-d-ī-r), baru ditjanai (S: sudah
tertjanai); 54c: djikalau sekadar (S: djangkalan antara); 54d: S: tambahan
p-ū Sula' dan Burné; 55b: kuberi (S: aku beri); 55c: djikalau (L: djika);
56a: S: Keraéng Mandalé' radja jang molék; 56b: S: ia bertjakap mentjabut
s-n-d-ī; 56c: S: berdiri bertempik serta melompat; 56d: after "patik", L
adds "patiklah ada", S: barang dimana ia datang aku mendekat.

- (57) Keraéng Mamu berani sungguh
bertjakap dengan kata jang teguh
djikalau patik bertemu musuh
pada barang tempat hamba bertutuh.
- (58) Daéng Mabéla muda jang sabar
ia bertjakap menjampaikean destar
berkat Tuhan wahid al-kahar
patikpun tidak ngeri dan gentar.
- (59) Bertjakaplah bagé Daéng Mangépé'
zamzam durджа bagai 'kan titik
patiklah hamba jang didik
daripada lari matilah baik.
- (60) Daéng ri Boko Sahbandar jang tua
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan kedua
djikalau lagi hajatnja djiwa
sendapun tidak mau ketjéwa.
- (61) Sahbandar jang muda amat bidjaksana
bertjakap dihadapan radja jang ghana
djikalau musuh naik di Mangalékana
lihatlah kelak tamasa disana.
- (62) Akan tjakap Datu' Maharadjaléla
barang dititahkan patik nin réla
djikalau sekadar Bugis Weland
Masrani tambah dengan Bone dan Sula'.
- (63) Akan sembah Datu' Seri Amar diRadja
patikpun seorang hamba jang sahadj
tuanku titahkan pada barang kerdja
mohonlah patik memalingkan durджа.
- (64) Akan tjakap anak radja jang muda-muda
hendak berperang dengan Weland
rupa sikapnja seperti garuda
sekaliannja anak saudara baginda.

57a: Mamu (L: m-ā-ū); 57b: bertjakap dengan (S: bertjakap dianja dengan);
57c: bertemu musuh (S: bertemu dengan musuh); 57d: S omits "pada", hamba
(S: patik); vv. 58-61: S arranges these verses in the following order: 60,
61, 59, 58; 58a: Mabéla (L: b-ī-l-ā); 58b: destar (L: dj-s-t-r), S: serta
bertjakap membukakan dj-s-t-r; 59a: Bertjakaplah (S: Mengaru); 59b: zamzam
(L: dj-m-dj-m), durджа (S: durджanja), titik (L: t-ī-t-h-k); 59c: didik (L:
ditidak); 60a: ri (L: di); 60c: lagi (S: ada); 60d: sendapun (S: s-dz-r-h pun);
61d: tamasa (L: t-r-m-ā-s-r, S: t-r-m-ā-s); v. 62: S has: Maharadjaléla
tjakap hulubalang / patikpun hadir dengan anak dagang / sekadar Meluku Ambon
jang malang / kepada barang tempat patik b-r-ng; 63a: S omits "sembah", Amar
(S: ā-m-t); 63b: hamba jang sahadj (S: jang disahadj); 63d: mohonlah
(S: haramlah), durджа (S: muka); 64a: Akan tjakap (S: Bertjakap segala); S
places 64c before 64b; 64b: hendak (S: patik) 64d: S: Buton Meluku Ambon
jang bi b-ī-d-ā).

- (65) Beratus-ratus hulubalang jang pahlawan
dibawah duli radja jang bangsawan
berkat daulat jang dipertuan
sekalian bertjakap hendak melawan.
- (66) Setelah habis sekalian bertjakap
semuanja beratur duduk mengadap
ketjil dan besar hatinja tetap
karena anak radja-radja sekalian bertjakap.
- (67) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Entji' Amin dipanggil membuat surat
bunjinja baik tiada jang ghalat
kalam muchtasar tiada dibuat.
- (68) Entji' Amin itu orang jang bidjak
tubuhnja sedang sederhana pandak
memakai minjak dengan kelembak
baunja harum amat semerbak.
- (69) Entji' Amin itu djangan disaju
nisab Mengkasar anak Melaju
lemah lembut badannja aju
laksana taruk angsoka laju.
- (70) Setelah sudah surat jang muchtasar
diberikan kepada seorang djuak
kepada Welandan (di) suruhnja bawa
engkau tanjakan barang kehendak.
- (71) Disambut surat jang muchtasar
oléh djuak bernama Djabar
Djabar menjembah kepada radja jang besar
turun berdjalan keris dikisar.
- (72) Djuru bahasa jang disuruh
naik perahu lalu berkajuh
menudju tempat kapal berlabuh
serta sampai ditambatnja teguh.

v.65 in L only; v.66 in S only; 67a: Setelah sudah putus (S: ketika baginda); 67b: membuat surat (S: akan menjurat); 67c: ghalat (L: ch-l-t); 67d: muchtasar (L: m-h-t-s-r?), S: itulah seorang makhluk jang ā-t-s-t; 68d: baunja (L: b-ū-ū-nj); v.69 in S only; 69b: nisab (n-s-ā-f); 70a: L omits "jang muchtasar (m-f-h-t-ā-s-?); 70b: seorang djuak (S: tangan Djabar); 70c, 70d, 71a in L only; 71a: muchtasar (m-h-t-s-r?); 71b in L only; 71c: L omits "Djabar menjembah", Djabar (dj-b-ā); 72d: teguh (L: t-k-t).

- (73) Amiral Nasrani terlalu bengis
disuruhnja minta segala keris
Tunderu' menjahut seraja memalis
bukan 'adatnja tiada berkeris.
- (74) Djabarpun duduk dekat Kapitan
diambilnja surat lalu diberikan
djuru tulisnja datang membatjakan
didengar oleh sekalian kapitan. (4a)
- (75) Setelah didengar oleh Sipalman
bunjinja surat tiadalah aman
Amiral memandang kiri dan kanan
tunduk berpikir berkelamaan.
- (76) Si Tunderu' berkata seraja menoléh
semuanja adalah aku peroléh
Bima' dan Dompu tidak kukelih
serta kukenang hatiku pedih.
- (77) Djabar menjahut seraja menjembah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
maka tuanku beroléh susah
segenap negeri orang duduk berumah.
- (78) Djabar itu sangat berakal
sehari semalam diatas kapal
hendak mengamuk takut disesal
sabarlah ia serta tawakal.
- (79) Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil
bitjaranja itu hendak mbedil
menjuruh naik sebuah batil
dipantai Garasi' ia mengempil.
- (80) Naiklah Welandi ada seorang
tempatnja undur di Udjung Karang
dinantinja lama tiadalah datang
si kutuk berdajung lalu pulang.

73a: Amiral Nasrani (S: ā-m-r kutuk); 73b: minta segala (S: ambil
sekalian); 73c: Tunderu' menjahut (S: Radja Palaka), L stops after
"seraja"; 76a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r); 76c: m-i-nj-a d-ā-n d-m-p
t-i-d-q k-ū-k-ā-l-h); 79d: Garasi' (k-r-s); 80c: datang (h-r-t-ng).

- (81) Dibawanja berdjalan menjusur pantai
lalulah naik keatas balai
keluarlah daéng anak bura'né
duduk berhimpun terlalu ramai.
- (82) Turunlah angin barat jang besar
orang mengadap terkisar-kisar
hendak batja surat si kuffār (5)
dititahkan oléh Sultan jang besar.
- (83) Disuruh batja surat Welanda
bunjinja djahat banjak jang bida'ah
adalah berubah muka baginda
berpaling memandang Sultan jang muda.
- (84) Seketika baginda duduk
seri Sultan berangkat masuk
kehendak hatinja Welanda kutuk
kita pula disuruhnja tunduk.
- (85) Matahari masuk bulan mengambang
pulanglah Welanda kerumah sambang
semalam itu ia dipegang
pagi-pagi hari dihantarkan pulang.
- (86) Welanda iblis terlalu tjerdik
dikajuhkan dengan perahu ketjil
diturunkan dari pangkalan Garasi'
supaja nadjisnja djangan memertjik.
- (87) Setelah sampai kepangkalan dekat
naik mengadap Kapitan murtad
menjampaikan pesan tjepiau diangkat
mengatakan Mengkasar tiada mufakat.
- (88) Berkatalah Amir(al) Kapitan jang garang
suruhannja itu lepaskan pulang
hendak kita bedil ia sekarang
Buton betapa chabarnja gerang.

82c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r); 83b: bida'ah (b-î-d-h);
88a: Amir(al) (ā-m-î-r).

- (89) Setelah didengar djuru bahasa seperti orang bermimpi puasa kembalilah ia dengan sentosa mengadap duli radja jang kuasa.
- (90) Sultan bertitah kepada Djabar marilah kemari engkau berchabar betapa kehendak Welanda kuffār temannja sudah kita suruh hantar. (5a)
- (91) Dipersembahkan chabar kepada Sultan akan kehendak Welanda sjaitan bar(ang) katanja tuanku ikutkan maulah ia berpatutan.
- (92) Welanda putih seperti sabun sentiasa malam tidur berembun daripada sebab biasanja konon berlajarlal lalu ke Buton.
- (93) Sekalian kapal berlajar kain di anak negeri singgah bermain turunlah Welanda kafir jang bain mengambil njiur buah jang lain.
- (94) Durdjana sungguh Bugis Welanda singgah dikampung membawa sendjata lalulah ia pergi mendjarah dibakarnja rumah beberapa buah.
- (95) Si Tunderu' naik ke Bantaëng pahanja luka ditikam lembing turun terdjingkat terdjindjing-djindjing Bugispun banjak jang mengiring.
- (96) Amiral melihat si Tunderu' luka adalah sedikit hatinja duka serta datang disuruhnja buka dibubuhnja obat pada jang luka.

90c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r); 91c: bar(ang) (b-ā-r), ikutkan (ikut akan);
 94a: Durdjana (d-r-dj-nj); 95a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r);
 96a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r).

- (97) Setelah selesai gégér dan gegempar
sekalian kapal menarik lajar
turunlah angin barat jang besar
kapal berlajar sambar-menjambar .
- (98) Sampai ke Buton kapal berlabuh
memasang meriam legah dan leguh
tiga hari tiga malam tiada teduh
barang jang kena hantjur dan luluh. 6
- (99) Mengkasar melihat kapal datang
Keraéng Bonto Maranu hatinja pusang
Keraéng Peté'né' sempurna hulubalang
mengadirkan setinggar lembing dan pedang.
- (100) Setelah pagi-pagi hari
naiklah Welanda Bugis pentjuri
Keraéng Peté'né' jang mengeluari
berperang sampai setengah hari.
- (101) Seketika berperang Bugispun lari
tjerai-berai membawa diri
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
seorangpun tidak lagi berdiri.
- (102) Keraéng Peté'né' radja jang bisai
baginda mengamuk menjusur pantai
segala djuaknja berbadju rantai
menempuh datang ketepi sungai.
- (103) Dibedil oleh Kapitan Welanda
kenalalah badan dada baginda
satupun tidak tjatjat binasa
kebesaran Allah kepadanya njata.
- (104) Keraéng Peté'né' radja jang akil
segala ra'jat disuruhnja tampil
tidaklah baginda gentarkan bedil
niatnja sangat hendakkan sabil.

101a: berperang (b-r-p-ū-ā-r'ng).

- (105) Dilihatnja baginda tiada berpaling
dibubuhnja peluru baling-baling
dibedilnja kena pipi dan kening
baginda djatuh badan terguling.
- (106) Dilihatnja oléh Keraéng Tompong
ajahanda disuruhnja usung
disambut djuaknja dibawa usung
karunia Allah baginda djundjung. (6a)
- (107) Keraéng Peté'né' masuk kekubur
Mengkasar gempar terlalu ibur
riuh rendah orang bertutur
siang dan malam tiada tidur.
- (108) Keraéng Bonto Maranu akalnja lebih
melihat ra'jat sekalian letih
zamzam durdjanja sebagai léléh
lalu mendirikan tunggul putih.
- (109) Welanda melihat tunggul putih
si Tunderu' dan Amiral hatinja pulih
sekali ini kita peroléh
Mengkasar dan Mandar sudah letih.
- (110) Menjuruh naik sebuah batil
datang kedarat ia mengempil
Keraéng Bonto Maranu mari dipanggil
segala sendjata disuruhnja ambil.
- (111) Keraéng Bonto Maranu turun kekapal
dipanggil duduk oléh Amiral
Keraéng wé djangan hatimu sebal
dengan Radja Palaka engkau bertimbal.
- (112) Dipudjuk Amiral kafir jang durhaka
Keraéng Bonto Maranu hatinja suka
lupalah ia akan siksa naraka
daripada bebalnja maka ia tjelaka.

106c: djuaknja (dj-ū-ā-ī-nj);
111c: hatimu (h-ī-t-m).

109b: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r);

- (113) Mara'dia itu tiada menurut kata
masuk menutup pintu kota
Bugis kutuk Welanda jang dusta
patutlah lawan kepada kita.
- (114) Keraéng Bonto Maranu naik kedarat
mengambil sendjata sekalian ra'jat
segala jang berkeris disuruhnja ikat
banjaklah Mengkasar jang terkerat. 7
- (115) Segala radja-radja diambilnja keris
sekaliannja diam tidak menangis
'akalnja itu terlalu chabis
tiadalah patut didengar madjelis.
- (116) Setelah habis sekalian sendjata
Mandar ta' mau menurut kata
mana kehendaknja Welanda jang dusta
barang hukumnja adalah kita.
- (117) Keraéng Bonto Maranu sangat bertjinta
turunlah ia membawa sendjata
kepada Amirai ia berkata
Mandar itu diatas beta.
- (118) Buton itu mengjangkan djagung
berebutlah ia turun merampung
djikalau tidak mojangnja datang menolong
radja dan menterinja habis terpotong.
- (119) Buton la'nat mengjangkan ubi
lupalah ia akan agama nabi
sungguhpun ia tiada makan babi
pakaiannja sudah menurut serani.
- (120) Bertitahlah Radja Bala' Nipah
menjuruh mengganti dajung jang patah
semuanja hadir seperti perintah
menantikan radjanja djuga bertitah.

113d: patutlah (patublah); 115d: patut (patub);
119a: mengjangkan (m-ng-i-k-n).

- (121) Datanglah gerak daripada Allah
iapun keluar lalu membelah
.....
.....
- (122) Mara'dia itu radja jang terbilang
membelah dengan serunai genderang
keris dan sunderik tersisip dipinggang
setinggarpun hadir seputjuk seorang.
- (123) Hendak mengambat si Tunderu' melarang (7a)
Mandar itu biarlah pulang
kehendak hatinja berkata garang
Mandar kutuk anak djembalang.
- (124) Mandar itu radja jang keras
sehari semalam diapun lepas
barang jang tinggal disuruhnja rampas
habis mendjelus tinggal mendjelas.
- (125) Akan Mengkasar Bima Sumbawa
seorangpun tidak lagi tertawa
daripada takutnja akan punggawa
pisau rautnjapun tidak terbawa.
- (126) Pekerti Welanda Bugis jang serau
banjaklah Mengkasar dibuangnja kepulau
dimurkai Allah djuga engkau
diachirat kelak tergagau-gagau.
- (127) Bertjakap Buton si kutuk Allah
mendjabat pedang bermata sebelah
djikalau aku disampaikan Allah
Sambopu dan Telo' (di)sutjikan Allah.
- (128) Kera'eng Tompong jang sangat gusar
bangun berdiri hendak menampar
dipegang oleh segala jang sabar
kehandak hatinja berkata besar.

121n: membelah (m-m-b-ā-l-h); 122b: membelah (m-m-b-ā-l-h); 122c: sunderik (s-n-d-r); 123a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r); 124d: mendjelus (m-n-h-l-ū-s), mendjelas (m-n-h-l-s); 127b: pedang (perang).

- (129) Djikalau ada daulat radja yang besar
selamat djuga negeri Mengkasar
dimenangkan Allah daripada si kuffār
disanalah kelak ia membajar.
- (130) Radja Lubu' berkata sepatah
si Buton andjing sangatlah bida'ah
djikalau selamat djuga chalifah
disanalah kelak kepalamu kubelah.
- (131) Setelah sudah berkata-kata
diamlah ia sekalian bertjinta
minta do'a sekalian rata
barang selamat djugalah kita. 8
- (132) Berkatalah si Tunderu' radja jang garang
baiklah kita menjuruh pulang
menjuruh bawa setengah orang
alamat djadi kita berperang.
- (133) Menjahut bagé Kapitan Djepara
baiklah kita sekalian bitjara
orangpun tiada ada sengsara
dapatlah kita berkira-kira.
- (134) Didjawab oleh Kapitan Djepon
suruhlah panggil Meluku dan Ambon
kitalah lama sudah di Buton
beraspun habis chabarnja konon.
- (135) Racjat itu dibahaginja dua
ke Djakatra disuruhnja bawa
Buton melihat suka tertawa
kemudian kelak dirasainja djuga.
- (136) Setelah sudah berbahagi orang
ke selat Buton kapal menjeberang
ia berbélok melalui karang
dipantai Meluku kapal mengambang.

129c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r); 132a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r); 133b: kita (itu);
134b: Meluku (m-ū-g-ū-h), Ambon (ā-m-ā-n).

- (137) Meluku melihat kapal jang datang
dikampungkannja sekalian orang
mendirikan tunggul terbelang-belang
memasang meriam serta senapang.
- (138) Kapitan kapal turun kedarat
memukul tambur mengarak surat
dengan Radja Ternate ia berdekak
memegang tangan tjepiau diangkat.
- (139) Kapitan berkata dengan santun (8a)
Amiral ada menanti di Buton
berbalik kita dari Ambon
hendak ke Mengkasar berperang konon.
- (140) Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah
ada sedikit hatinja susah
pikir baginda tunduk tengadah
sebab bertjakap terlandjur sudah.
- (141) Setelah putus sudah musjawarat
memukul tambur menghimpunkan ra'jat
ke Ambon diberi sekeping surat
menjuruh Kapitan Djongkor berangkat.
- (142) Sementara duduk berkira-kira
setengah membaiki kura-kura
Kiai Tjili Mandarsah tiada bertara
segala ra'jat disuruhnja para.
- (143) Ada setengah membuati kapal
siang dan malam orang memakal
segala perempuan mengadirkan bekal
lada tumbuk diperbuat sambal.
- (144) Tuan dengarkan sembah jang hina
akan hadrat radja jang ghana
'arif sempurna lagi bidjaksana
beroléh chalifah jang amat fana.

- (145) Karunia Allah safat nabi
Chalifat Allah pada kedua negeri
mengasihi dia Allah dan wali
ramai dan suka pada kedua negeri.
- (146) Sjahi 'alam radja jang 'adil
radja chalifah sempurna kamil
wali Allah sempurna wasil
lagi 'arif lagi mukamil. (9)
- (147) Karunia Allah jang mendjadikan 'alam
mendjadi tinggi kedua 'alam
umatnja banjak memenuhi 'alam
suka dan ramai siang dan malam.
- (148) Sangat berani baginda Sultan
hendak melawan Welanda sjaitan
Minangkabau dengan peranakan
sikapnja itu bukan buatan.
- (149) Dengarkan handai dan tolan
pekerti si Bugis orang jang malan
dengan Welanda ia bertolan
achirnja mati kebengkalan.
- (150) Dengarkan si Bugis Patang Birang
orang Boné memalas pulang
berkampunghlah segala orang pawang
baiklah kita menjuruh sekarang.
- (151) Patang Birang itu orang melawan
pada hari itu ia berdjalan
mengadap duli radja bangsawan
mempersembahkan chabar jang tiada keruan.
- (152) Setelah didengar oleh baginda
menjuruh mendjemput paduka adinda
Sultan di Telo' radja jang muda
masuk mengadap paduka kakanda.

146a: Sjahi (sāhī); 148c: Minangkabau (Minang Kerbau); 150c: pawang (pūāwang); 151d: mempersembahkan (bepersembahkan); 152b: mendjemput (mendjāpūt).

- (153) Serta datang baginda duduk
berdatang sembah seraja duduk
tuanku djangan berhati sibuk
biarlah patik ke Boné masuk.
- (154) Berbunjilah nobat genderang pekandjar
Sultan di Telo' melompat berkandjar
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan jang besar
Boné itu patik melanggar. (9a)
- (155) Segala hulubalang baginda Sultan
sikapnja itu seperti harimau djantan
bertjakap dihadapan baginda Sultan
Boné itu sungguh aku lawan.
- (156) Sultan di Telo' radja jang madjelis
baginda bertjakap melanggar Bugis
segala jang mendengar habis menangis
seraja menjumpah Bugis iblis.
- (157) Mendengar sembah paduka adinda
sukatjita hati kakanda baginda
menghimpunkan hulubalang jang muda-muda
akan mengiringkan Sultan jang muda.
- (158) Dengan sesa'at putus musjawarat
bagindapun kembali beristirahat
setelah berkampung sekalian ra'jat
menantikan titah maka berangkat.
- (159) Antara selang berapa hari
Sultan berangkat ketika seri
daulat baginda sangat berdiri
berarak dengan serunai nafiri.
- (160) Dipalunja genderang ditiupnja serunai
pahlawan berdjalan terlalu ramai
hulubalang mengiringkan seperti sakai
baginda berarak seperti mempelai.

156d: menyumpah (m-n-m-p-h); 159a: Antara (ā-n-t-ā), selang (sīlang);
160a: ditiupnja (d-t-i-ū-nj).

- (161) Kenaikan Sultan di Telo^a 10
awan berarak tundjung berkeluk
kepada bunga setangkai baginda duduk
dihadapan menteri jang pĕtah mabuk.
- (162) Kenaikan itu bernama pĕlang
ukirnja terus berkerawang
ditjapnja dengan perada terbang
berkilat tjahajanja amat tjemerlang.
- (163) Indahnja tidak lagi bertara
selaku turun dari udara
djikalau ditentang ditengah segara
rupanja seperti setua anggara.
- (164) Dua ratus enam puluh orang berkajuh
ditjapnja perada atas pengajuh
berkilat-kilat seperti suluh
tempik soraknja amat gemuruh.
- (165) Segala radja-radja dengan kenaikannja
musta'ib pula dengan sendjatanja
masing-masing dengan gembiranja
terlalu ramai bunji soraknja.
- (166) Dari Maros baginda berdjalan
terlalu ramai dahulu-dahuluan
karena hendak bertemu lawan
barang jang berani disanalah melawan.
- (167) Didjalan tidak berapa lama
di Mampu perang mula pertama
segala Bugis la'nat jang ternama
dengan Radja Mampu bersama-sama.
- (168) Perangpun tidak berapa bentar (10a)
larilah Bugis dihambat Mengkasar
anak bininja terkisar-kisar
oléh Radja Mampu jang tjuak besar.

161d: mabuk (m-b-ū); 162d: tjahajanja (tj-h-nj); 163b: turun (t-r-ā-n);
163d: setua anggara (s-ā-ū-h (?) ā-ng-g-ā-r); 168d: tjuak besar
(dj-ū-ā b-ā-s-r).

- (169) Larilah Bugis keatas bukit
sekalian mendjundjung bekal dan sumpit
setengah menangis setengah mendjerit
setengah gementar habis memekik.
- (170) Tidaklah lagi akan kadarnja
tua muda lari ke gua
beroleh 'aib lagi ketjéwa
sebab itulah orang tertawa-tawa.
- (171) Sultan di Telo* terlalu murka
disuruhnja bunuh si Bugis tua
karena ia sangat durhaka
kebawah duli memalingkan muka.
- (172) Radja Mampu datang menjembah
minta ampun barang jang salah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
mendjundjung kur'an seraja bersumpah.
- (173) Bertanja pula Sahbandar jang pétah
berapa kali engkau sudah bersumpah
Radja Mampu seraja menjembah
dua kali katanja tuanku sudah.
- (174) Segala jang mengadap suka tertawa
mendengar katanja si Bugis tua
kalau makan seperti sawa
ubi direbus dengan Lemang Djawa.
- (175) Setelah sudah senda bergurau
baginda berangkat kenegeri Pati-ro
hudjampun lebat menderau-derau
sekalian bertudung tjilo-tjilo.
- (176) Keraéng Bonto Maranu kepala perang
baginda itu radja jang terbilang
sadu perdana sikapnja terbang
putera marhum bangsanja sedang.

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169b: mendjundjung (m-n-dj-ng-n-dj-ü-ng); 169c: mendjerit (mendjeri¹);
170b: muda (m-ü-ä); 172d: mendjundjung (m-n-dj-ng-n-dj-ng); 175a: senda
(s-d); 176d: marhum (m-r-ü-h-m).

- (177) Keraéng Lóngkés radja jang garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang
Bugispun lari lalu keseberang
seperti babi takut akan beruang.
- (178) Daéng Mangépe' sajak jang kanan
kepada berperang sangatlah perkenan
seperti beruang melihat (ma)kanan
terlalu banjak beroléh tawanan.
- (179) Daéng Marupa sajak jang kiri
bagindapun anak radja djauhari
mustahillah kepadanya jang bernama lari
kepada tunggulnja djuga berdiri.
- (180) Baginda Sultan mendjadi tubuh
seperti umpama kota jang teguh
dengan tempik soraknja amat gemuruh
memberi dahsat pada hati musuh.
- (181) Keraéng Tompong mendjadi ékur
bagindapun radja jang termasjhur
kepada berperang tidaklah undur
Tjili Kalimata disana bertjampur.
- (182) Baginda itu radja jang terbilang (11a)
terlalu tahu akan kerdja berperang
tunggulnja mérah berbelang-belang
kena asap setinggiar turang-berturang.
- (183) Larilah Bugis berkawan-kawan
lintang-pukang tidak keruan
hambanja tidak mengenal tuan
banjaklah pula jang tertawan.
- (184) Setelah didengar oleh chalifah
negeri Bone sudahlah kalah
segala jang tunduk habis menjembah
mendjundjung kur'an serta bersumpah.

178c: (ma)kanan (k-ā-n-n); 179a: sajak (s-ā-j-ū); 179d: tunggulnja
(t-ng-g-ā-nj); 181d: Tjili (tj-ā-l-ī).

- (185) Sukatjita hati baginda
menjuruh mendjemput paduka adinda
dikirimkan kain antelas perada
sjahdan mengatakan chabar Welanda.
- (186) Jang dititahkan itu segeralah pergi
didjalan tidak berapa hari
mendapatkan radja jang djauhari
seraja menjembah disusun djari.
- (187) Daéng mengadap kebawah duli
tuanku didjemput kakanda kembali
berkat keramat baginda duli
melawan musuh kuat sekali.
- (188) Terlalu suka hati baginda
sebab mendengar chabar Welanda
mengerahkan hulubalang jang muda-muda
semuanja naik keatas kuda.
- (189) Sultan di Telo' berangkat kembali
didjalan tidak berapa hari
disinar samsu jang masturi
badan jang érang manis berseri. 12
- (190) Tidaklah habis hamba katakan
singgah berteduh segenap hutan
terlalu banjak beroléh perburuan
sukalah kalbu baginda Sultan.
- (191) Kepangkalan Maros baginda datang
kenaikan baginda hadir terambang
terlalu banjak pakur dan pelang
menantikan Sultan jang berla'lang.
- (192) Setelah kenaikan baginda njata
berbunjilah meriam diatas kota
bahananja gemuruh gegap gempita
bergeraklah segala udjud dan anggota.

185d: sjahdan (sj-h-î-d-â-n); 187b: didjemput (didjâpüt); 188c: mengerahkan
(m-ng-r-k-n); 189c: jang masturi (n-î-ng m-s-t-r-î); 192d: bergeraklah
(b-r-g-r-l-h).

- (193) Maharadjaléla hulubalang jang betul
sepandjang pantai mendirikan tunggul
Inggeris itu kafir jang berusul
memasang meriam asapnja berkepul.
- (194) Segala Datu' Entji' dan Tuan
asap setinggar mendjadi awan
memberi hormat akan radja bangsawan
tandanja orang akan melawan.
- (195) Berhimpunlah perahu besar dan ketjil
setengah masuk kesungai Garasi'
.....
.....
- (196) Sultan di Gowa radja jang terbilang
mengalu-ngalukan adinda jang akan datang
diiringkan menteri dengan hulubalang
berarak itu dengan serunai genderang. (12a)
- (197) Sultan di Telo' radja jang muda
mendjundjung duli paduka kakanda
dipeluk ditjium oleh baginda
lalulah naik keatas kuda.
- (198) Dengan segala menteri dan hulubalang
ra'jat mengiringkan tiada terbilang
sifatnja madjelis dipandang orang
beraninja sangat bukan kepalang.
- (199) Kembalilah Sultan radja jang ghana
keduanja naik keatas istana
bertachta diatas peterana
dihadap menteri jang hina dina.
- (200) (Paduka) adinda (di)karunia persalin
kain jang indah dari atas angin
kilau-kilauan seperti tjermin
dipandang elok seperti pengantin.

- (201) Setelah sudah baginda bersalin
mengarunia pula radja jang lain
pertama destar kedua kain
keris dan sunderik ditambahi tjintjin.
- (202) Segala radja-radja jang mengadap
dikarunia pula sekalian lengkap
setelah Keraeng hatinja tetap
hidangan diangkat disuruhnja santap.
- (203) Santappun tidak lambat dan sangat
membatja pula do'a selamat
akan segala nabi wali jang keramat
semuanja itu memberi safa'at.
- (204) Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta
fakir nin lagi diluar kota
gharib mendengar chabar berita
saja perbuatkan suatu tjerita.
- (205) Djikalau aturnja banjak jang salah
djanganlah apa tuan menjumpah
demikianlah adat hamba Allah
mengindar ia chilaf dan salah.
- (206) Mana jang kurang tuan tambahi
djanganlah kami tuan sumpahi
dimanalah boleh seperti pengganti
mengarang kitab berpuluh peti.
- (207) Belajarlah Welandi dari Buton
dengan segala Bugis dan Ambon
terlalu banjak chabarnja konon
lajarnja putih seperti sabun.
- (208) Si Tunderu' singgah di Patiro
menghimpunkan Bugis bertjilo-tjilo
sekalian gempar tergagau-gagau
karena Datu'nja datang mengatjau.

13

- (209) Dengan sesaat seketika kata
ra'jat Bugis takut segala
mengadap kepada radja paduka
sekaliannja dahsat menundukkan muka.
- (210) Welanda sampai ke Bantaeng
belajarliah kapal si kuffār andjing
mengadirkan sendjata pedang dan lembing
setinggar rentaka meriam berkantjing. (13a)
- (211) Terlalu ramai serunai dan genderang
sendjata dan sunderik lembing dan pedang
setinggarpun hadir seputjuk seorang
ingatnja sangat bukan kepalang.
- (212) Sikap lakunja seperti helang
bertikamkan keris lembing dan pedang
hatinja tetap bukan kepalang
sedikitpun tidak menaruh mamang.
- (213) Bertjakaplah ia terlalu ingat
karena si Buton berani sangat
tambahan Welanda kafir la'nat
istimewa Buton jang mengchianat.
- (214) Tiadalah fakir berbanjak kata
gharib ta' mau berbuat dusta
karena tewas perangnya kita
dapatlah benteng dimata-mata.
- (215) Antara selang berapa hari
habislah orang di Bantaeng lari
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
tjerai-berai membawa diri.
- (216) Keraeng Bonto Madjanang jang berperang
ra'jatnja banjak berani garang
bertikam keris lembing dan pedang
ra'jatnja mati berpuluh orang.

210b: kuffār (k-ū-f-r): 213d: mengchianat (m-ch-n-t)

214d: benteng (b-n-t-ng); 215a: selang (silang); 216a: Madjanang (m-n-dj-n-ng)

- (217) Demikianlah adat orang berperang
alah dan menang sekali seorang
setengah ra'jat ke Sambopu pulang
mengadap Sultan jang berla'lang. 14
- (218) Setelah Sultan mendengar chabar
orang di Bantaeng sekalian gempar
pekerti Bugis orang jang besar
mufakatliah ia dengan Welanda kuffār.
- (219) Sultan bertitah seraja djila
menjuruh memalu genderang pekandjar
bertjakaplah anak radja Mengkasar
mentjabut keris lalu berkandjar.
- (220) Belajarlah Welanda dari Bantaéng
kelihatan lajarnja putih terdinding
dilihat oléh sekalian Keraéng
Buton dan Ambon si Sula' andjing.
- (221) Kapal berbéluk menudju kedarat
dengan Ambon Buton kafarat
terlalu ramai orang melihat
seorangpun tidak gentar dan dahsat.
- (222) Sangat berani Radja Ternate
baginda berkajuh menjusur pantai
memakai destar badju rantai
kenaikan ladju tiada berbagai.
- (223) Gemparlah Entji' Datu' dan Tuan
masuk mengadap Jang dipertuan
berdatang sembah bertjakap melawan
hendak melanggar si Buton haiwan.
- (224) Belajarlah kapal kafir jang dusta
jang ditudjunja baluar(ti) dan kota
si Tunderu' dan Amiral empunja kata
maksudnja hendak mengambil kota. (14a)

217c: Sambopu (S-m-b-ō p-ū-n); 218c: pekerti (f-k-r-ā-t);
218d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r); 219a: seraja djila (s-r-ī ch-ī-l);
221a: berbéluk (b-r-b-ī-l-ū); 224b: baluar(ti) (b-l-ī-ū-ā-r);
224c: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-r).

- (225) Sultan berangkat ke Ujung Pandang beraraklah (dengan) serunai genderang diiringkan menteri serta hulubalang sendjata dan ra'jat tiada terbilang.
- (226) Sempurnalah baginda djadi chalifah sekali tewas perangnja sudah sangat bertentu alat perintah sekalianja hasil tiada jang salah.
- (227) Sultan berangkat segera kembali dengan segala ra'jat serta menteri ketika itu setengah hari ra'jat mengiringkan berlari-lari.
- (228) Sultanpun masuk kedalam kota naik istana baginda bertachta dengan segala menteri berkata-kata dusta Welanda sudahlah njata.
- (229) Chabar itu sangat dirantaikan seorang Minangkabau hamba tuturkan segala sendjata diaturkan demikian si Bugis Welanda sjaitan.
- (230) Antara selang berapa hari kapal mengambang dilaut negeri Amir(al) menjuruh kebawah duli hendak turun beli-membeli.
- (231) Jang disuruh Bandan jang delap barang katanja merap-merap dihalaukan pulang dengan sekedjap tiadalah ia diberi berdjawab.
- (232) Patutlah ia djadi hamba Amiral baik parasnja tiada ber'akal sikapnja seperti hamba fiskal turunlah ia pulang kekapal.

15

225a: Pandang (p-ā-d-ng); 225b: (dengan) ms. has "dan"; 227a:segera (s-k-r)
 229b: Minangkabau (s-l-ng-k-ā-b-ū); 230a: selang (sīlang); 230c: Amir(al)
 (ā-m-r); 231a: Bandan (b-d-ā-n), delap (d-ā-l-b); 231b: marap-marap
 (m-ā-r-b-ā-r-ā-b); 232a: Patutlah (patublah).

- (233) Serta datang kepada Sipalman
lalu berkata memandjang tangan
tuanku Amiral Datu' djundjungan
beta diburu seperti mendjangan.
- (234) Sudah dikirimkan surat paduka
semuanja tertawa terlalu suka
sekalian duduk berdjenaka
ada jang tersenjum ada jang suka.
- (235) Amiral mendengar suka tertawa
karena Bandan berbahasa Djawa
daripada sebab bingungmu djuga
maka Mengkasar sekalian tertawa.
- (236) Kapitan Djongkor jang sangat gusar
duduknja itu terkisar-kisar
besar pandjang penakut tjabar
hatimu itu sangat pendebar.
- (237) Mengedahkan hidungmu bagai putjung
matanja besar seperti bagong
serta duduk bersila panggung
dituturkan orang menjapu hidung.
- (238) Menambahi diri orang berusul
berkata sepatahpun tiada betul
apatah guna berkain tjaul
patut memakan bubur berketul. (15a)
- (239) Telah selesai perkataan si haiwan
ia berbahasa tiada keruan
sudah dinista seperti perempuan
diberi upah arak setjawan.
- (240) Tersebutlah perkataan anak Mengkasar
telah kembali suruhan si kuffar
lalu bertitah Sultan jang besar
menjuruh membaiki sendjata dan pagar.

223a: Sipalman (s-î-p-û-l-m-n); 223b: memandjang (m-n-dj-ng); 236d: hatimu (h-î-t-m); 237b: bagong (ā-g-û-ng); 238a: orang (û-ā-ng); 238d: berketul (b-r-k-t-b-û-l); 239a: si haiwan (s-î-tj-w-ā-n); 240b: si kuffar (s-î-k-û-f).

- (241) Segala Datu' Entji' dan Tuan
apa bitjara datu' sekalian
baiklah masuk anak perempuan
supaja kita boleh melawan.
- (242) Akan sembah sekalian hulubalang-hulubalang
tuanku djangan berhati mamang
djikalau gempar malam dan siang
tutup segala pintu gerbang.
- (243) Bertitah pula duli makota
baiklah kita atur meriam diatas kota
baiklah ingat sekalian kita
si kuffār ini sangatlah dusta.
- (244) Siang dan malam gegap gempita
mengatur meriam diatas kota
setengah membaiki sekalian sendjata
dengan ingatnja sekalian rata.
- (245) Segala jang duduk diluar kota
terlalu sabur berangkat harta
ada jang diam ada jang berkata
seorangpun tidak berdukatjita. 16
- (246) Setelah singkap fadjar akan siang
bersikaplah segala hulubalang
dengan sendjata lembing dan pedang
ra'jat berhimpun tiada terbilang.
- (247) Ketika hari waktu subuh
segala hulubalang berhebat tubuh
naik keatas kota jang teguh
kelihatan tempat perahu musuh.
- (248) Setelah terbitlah njata matahari
dipasangnja meriam Seri Negeri
apinja tersembur seperti sjamsu wa'l-qamari
Welandan dan Bugis sangatlah ngeri.

242d: tutup (t-ü-t-ü-t-b); 243a: duli (d-ä-l); 243d: kuffār (k-ü-f-r);
245d: berdukatjita (b-r-d-ü-tj-t); 248c: sjamsu wa'l-qamari
(s-m-s-ü-l q-m-r-î).

- (249) Bunjinja itu seperti halilintar membelah
kenalalah kapal si la'nat Allah
lantas terus lalu kesebelah
berpuluh-puluh kapal jang belah.
- (250) Dibedilkan pula (meriam) bernama Ki Naung
apinja seperti kilat digunung
bahananja gemuruh amat berdengung
kenalalah kapal kafir jang bingung.
- (251) Terpelanting dengan pedang ketopong
terlalu banjak lari kekurung
ditémbakkan pula meriam si Kongkong
kenalalah kapal rebah terdjerongkong.
- (252) Ada jang kena pedang badannja potong
segala Bugis berkeliling pésong
.....
.....
- (253) Pendjagur Besi pula ditémbakkan
pelurunya datang menjusur buritan (16a)
hampirilah kena seorang Kapitan
dahsatlah hati Welandia sajitan.
- (254) Tjap Kapal ditémbakkannja pula
kenalalah kapal kafir jang gila
banjaklah kena petjah kepala
luluh lantak tiada bergala.
- (255) Di Kampung Tjina meriam jang tebal
serta ditémbakkan kenalalah kapal
terus-menerus tampal-menampal
sangatlah duka hati Amiral.
- (256) Kapitan Amiral hatinja sabar
menahan meriam Radja Mengkasar
sedikitpun tidak hatinja gusar
diisinja meriam disuruhnja mistar.

249d: kepala (k-p-l-nj); 251d: terdjerongkong
(t-r-dj-r-ü-k-ü-ng); 252c, 252d are lacking:
253b: buritan (b-ü-r-ü-t-n); 254d: bergala
(b-r-k-ä-l); 255b: serta (seperti).

- (257) Kira-kira sedjam sudah ditembak
barulah Welanda membalas pula
bahananja gemuruh seperti debak
kenalah kota leguh dan legah.
- (258) Sangatlah marah kafir jang dusta
menembak menudju istana dan kota
pelurunja datang melata-lata
seorangpun tidak kena anggota.
- (259) Setelah dilihat Kapitan Djepara
Kornilis Sipalman sangat sengsara
beraturlah kapal dan kura-kura
menembakkan meriam dengan bitjara.
- (260) Kapitan Djepon sangatlah dingin
menembakkan meriam dengan tjermi
pelurunja berdengung seperti angin
kenalah olehnja pohon beringin. 17
- (261) Terlalu amarah kafir jang hina
menembak kota menudju istana
berkat daulat radja jang ghana
kepada rumah buruk disanalah kena.
- (262) Dengarkan kisah Fétor Inggeris
akalnja tadjam seperti keris
sungguhpun ia kafir jang bengis
hatinja betul tidak waswis.
- (263) Seorang bernama Mister Ba'il
sungguhlah pandai memainkan bedil
menembak kapal Amiral jang bachil
njarislah tenggelam sebuah batil.
- (264) Jang seorang bernama Mister Pil
itulah seorang Fétor jang ketjil
iapun bidjak memainkan bedil
menembak selup dengan batil.

257c: debak (ā-b-q); 257d: leguh (l-k-h-ū); 262d: waswis (w-s-w-i-s);
264d: selup (s-ū-l-b).

- (265) Fətor itu lama di Mengkasar duduk
menembakkan meriam dua puluh putjuk
banjak kapal terus dan pesuk
terlalu marah si Amiral kutuk.
- (266) Entji' Maris peranakan jang terbilang
memasang meriam berulang-ulang
kenalalah kapal kura-kura dan pélang
banjaklah mati Nasrani jang malang.
- (267) Ia menembak tiada berhenti (17a)
peluru meriamnja tertiti-titi
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati
Amiral melihat dukalah hati.
- (268) Ia menembak tiga puluh kali
tiadalah salah barang sekali
dua tempajan ubatnja habis sekali
menjuruh pula ia membeli.
- (269) Datu' Pasar orang ternama
dengan segala peranakan bersama-sama
deripada asal mula pertama
ialah duduk di Mengkasar lama.
- (270) Tiga bersaudara ia sekembar
lawan jang mana dapat mengembar
dibedil Welanda berdeggar-degar
mustahillah ia ngeri dan gentar.
- (271) Seri Amar Diradja hulubalang Tjampa
iapun seorang panglima pertapa
sungguhpun orangnja tiada berapa
melihat musuh hendak diterpa.
- (272) Sempurnalah ia hulubalang berani
namanja masjhur kesana sini
melihat Bugis Welanda Nasrani
marahnja tidak dapat ditahani.

- (273) Entji' Djabar menantu Seri Amar Diradja
bukanlah ia hamba jang disahadja
djikalau dititahkan kepada barang kerdja
haramlah ia memalingkan durdja.
- (274) Sempurnalah ia orang jang baik 18
berkata-kata sangatlah tjerdik
pada sekalian sahabat benar dan sadik
iapun seorang ada bermilik.
- (275) Segala Melaju anak peranakan
iapun musta'ib satu pasukan
sendjatanjapun sudah dihadirkan
menantikan naik Welanda sjaitan.
- (276) Suatu ketumbukan orang Mandjanang
djohan pahlawan Datu' L-ā-l-n-ng
memberi hati tentu dan senang
patut sekali akan dia kenang.
- (277) Sekalian hadir sendjatanja dibawa
hambanja banjak Bima Sumbawa
sekaliannja itu suka tertawa
semuanja mau membuang njawa.
- (278) Menitah bagé Sultan jang besar
ditémbakkan meriam bernama Kilat Fadjar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
si Bugis Ambon sangatlah gusar.
- (279) Dipasangnja pula meriam bernama Anggara
kenalalah kapal dan kura-kura
Welanda dan Bugis berkira-kira
dengan Kapitan Djongkor ia berbitjara.
- (280) Setelah hari sudahlah petang
ditémbakkan meriam bernama si Kembang
apinja njala amat tjemerlang
lalulah mati beberapa orang.

273a: Amar (ā-m-t); 275b: pasukan (p-s-ū-s-n); 279a: Anggara (ā-ng-n-h-r)
280b: si Kembang (s-k-m-b-ng).

- (281) Undurlah kapal kelaut dalam (18a)
serta memasang sekalian meriam
dibakarnya bangkai beberapa ajam
ada jang makan ada jang diam.
- (282) Sultapun segera memberi salin
akan jang menembakkan badju dan kain
menjukakan hati sekalian jang miskin
supaja djangan bekerdja jang lain.
- (283) Setelah matahari sudahlah njata
tampilah kapal Welanda jang dusta
dipasangnja meriam didalam kota
bunjinja gemuruh amat gempita.
- (284) Berkata pula Kapitan Amiral
menjuruh tampil sekalian kapal
memasang meriam asapnja berkumpul
pelurunja datang bertampal-tampal.
- (285) Setelah sunji Welanda kelaut
dipasang meriam bernama Barat Laut
takutlah Welanda undur surut
dilihatnja peluru datang menurut.
- (286) Berkatalah Keraéng Laksamana
tembakkan meriam bernama Seri Istana
bunjinja gemuruh amat berbahana
kenalalah Welanda Bugis jang hina.
- (287) Dipasangnja meriam kapal jang besar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
pelurunja datang terkisar-kisar
amat riuh sorak Mengkasar.
- (288) Dibéluknja kapal lalu lari (19)
dipasangnja meriam sebelah kiri
bahananja gemuruh kedalam negeri
sukalah Bugis Buton pentjuri.

- (289) Datanglah kapal Kapitan Djongkor
menembakkan meriam bagai diatur
pelurunya datang bagai ditabur
sangat gempita dengan bunji tambur.
- (290) Demikianlah sentiasa hari
Mengkasar berperang dengan Welanda pentjuri
memasang meriam menudju negeri
seorangpun tidak gentar dan ngeri.
- (291) Kekal kiranya apalah entji'
selamat sempurna beroléh milik
selamat kepada tempat jang baik
memohonkan air barang setitik.
- (292) Tuan dengarkan fakir berpesan
fakir nin djangan tuan lupakan
insja Allah barang dipertemukan
kepada barang tempat menjembah tuan
- (293) Entji' Maris orang terbilang
pandjang nipis dadanja benderang
sendjatanja itu lembing dan pedang
sikapnja itu seperti harimau garang.
- (294) Sempurnalah is anak bangsawan
sikapnja sengadja hendak melawan
melihat Welanda si Bugis haiwan
marahnja tidak dapat ditahan.
- (295) Dari Maros satu ketumbukan madjelis (19a)
jang memerintahkan dia Keraéng Lengkés
hulubalang bertjakap seraja bengis
hendak melawan Welanda dan Bugis.
- (296) Sekaliannja itu berkata-kata
djanganlah kita berdukatjita
tetapkan djua sekalian anggota
perbaik meriam diatas kota.

- (297) Segala hulubalang di Udjung Pandang
terlalu gemar ia memandang
gegap gempita serunai dan genderang
sekalian pahlawan bermain pedang.
- (298)
.....
setelah sudah haripun malam
musjawaratlah ia didalam diam,
- (299) Bitjaranja itu belum bertentu
hendak naik ke Batu-Batu
djikalau dapat berbenteng disitu
alah dan menang disanalah tentu.
- (300) Antara selang berapa hari
Amiral menjuruh berperi-peri
naiklah kita esok hari
djanganlah takut gentar dan ngeri.
- (301) Setelah pagi harinja itu
naiklah Welanda di Batu-Batu
Bugis Meluku si Buton hantu
membawa setingar seorang satu.
- (302) Demi Welanda sampai kedarat
serta bertemu lalu berkerat
Mengkasar menempuh seperti memerap
si kuffärpun lari undur larat.
- (303) Fakir mendengar chabarnja konon
larilah Welanda Meluku dan Ambon
gentar putjat muka si Buton
kepada air masin iapun terdjun.
- (304) Sekaliannja lari lintang-pukang
setengah mati tertelentang
oleh Mengkasar kepalanja dipegang
dikeraatnja leher dengan pedang.

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298a, 298b are lacking; 302c: memerap (s-r-ā-b); 302d: kuffärpun
(k-ü-f-r pun).

- (305) Tiadalah habis hamba katakan
patahlah perang Welanda sjaitan
seorangpun tidak lagi bertahan
gentarlah dagu si Buton haiwan.
- (306) Larinja itu turun kekapal
Amiral melihat sangatlah sebal
dengan Kapitan Djepara ia kumpul
berfikirlah ia mentjari akal.
- (307) Kafir melawan terlalu tjerdik
dari Galésong Welanda naik
kita perbuatkan suatu bilik
dengan meriam besar ia kita membidik.
- (308) Sangatlah tjerdik si kafir sjaitan
patutlah dengan Welanda haiwan
kita perbuatkan kota berdjalan
dengan meriam besar kita bitjarakan.
- (309) Berbunjilah tambur gegap gempita
setengah mengambil sekalian sendjata
Amiral mendengar sangatlah suka
makan dan minum sekalian rata. (20a)
- (310) Sekalian soldadu diberinja persalin
pertama tjepiau badju dan kain
djanganlah engkau bekerdja jang lain
makan dan minum engkau bermain.
- (311) Amiral itu pandai membudjuk
Buton Meluku Ambon jang mabuk
minum arak seorang semangkuk
tidaklah ia chabarkan kutuk.
- (312) Dipersembahkan orang Welanda lari
oleh Sultan disuruh tjari
musjawarat baginda dengan hulubalang dan menteri
hendak mengalahkan kaum Nasrani.

305d: dagu (d-ā-k-ū); 306c: Djepara (dj-p-r-î); 307b: Galésong
(k-ā-l-î-s-ū); 307c: bilik (n-l-î-); 307d: membidik (m-?-d-î-?);
308b: patutlah (patuhlah); 311c: semangkuk (s-m-ng-k-ū-ng);
312d: mengalahkan (m-?-l-h-k-n).

- (313) Baginda mendengar sukaiah sangat
memberi ajapan sekalian ra'jat
membatja pula do'a selamat
kepada Allah dan rasul minta safa'at.
- (314) Setelah terang fadjar 'kan sidik
dari Galésong Welanda naik
berkampunglah perahu besar dan ketjil
dipandang orang terlalu baik,
- (315) Sultanpun keluar dari negeri
mendapatkan Bugis Welanda pentjuri
berperang datang setengah hari
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati.
- (316) Berperang itu dari Galésong
pulangnja banjak jang berusung
Welanda dan Bugis banjak terpotong
Sultanpun hadir dibawah pajung.
- (317) Perang itu seperti orang berdjandji
Sultan di Telo' mengeluari
Welanda Meluku habislah lari
kebénténg ia membawa diri,
- (318) Radja di Telo' berani sungguh
bertjakap dengan kata jang teguh
kepada Sultan upama suluh
karena baginda berani sungguh.
- (319) Tjili Kalimata terlalu elok
mendjadi ipar kepada Radja di Telo'
barang dimana ketumbukan si Tunderu'
biarlah aku kesana masuk.
- (320) Selangpun tidak berapa hari
Tjili Kalimata jang mengeluari
berperang tidak setengah hari
si Tunderu' melihat adalah ngeri.

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314b: Galésong (k-l-i-ū-ng); 317d: bénténg (b-n-t-ā-i-ng);
320a: Selangpun (silangpūn).

- (321) Datu' Maharadjaléla seorang laki-laki
kebalnja tidak dimakan besi
berdatang sembah kebawah duli
patik memohonkan bénténg sendiri.
- (322) Akan titah dulinja Sultan
baiklah Datu' hamba berikan
oléh Mengkasar Melaju peranakan
mana perintah Datu' melawan.
- (323) Datu' Gagah hulubalang jang tua
mengadap Sultan Radja di Gowa
Welandan dan Bugis tidak kupertjaja
sedikitpun tidak mau ketjéwa. (21a)
- (324) Seorang bernama Entji' Djohor
ia berdiri mendjadi ékor
perang tidak mau undur
djikalau mati badan tersungkur.
- (325) Dengarkan perintah itu tuanku
kodrat Allah telah berlaku
Welandapun tidak lama disitu
berlajarlak kapal ke Batu-Batu.
- (326) Ke Batu-Batu Welandapun sampai
lalulah ia naik kepantai
membawa golok sekalian sakai
dikaki kota iapun sampai.
- (327) Iamanja tidak berapa hari
bénténg Welandan sudah terdiri
luputlah akal bitjara dan budi
Mengkasar tidak mengeluari lagi.
- (328) Datu' Adi empunja 'akal
kemudiannja kelak ia menjesal
.....
.....

321a: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ā-dj-l-l-î-l); 321d: bénténg (b-n-t-ng);
326c: golok (k-ü-l-t); 326d: dikaki (l-k-k-i); 328c, 328d are lacking.

- (329) Berperanglah Sultan di Batu-Batu Keraéng Djaranika datang membantu membawa keris seorang satu masuk mengamuk Meluku hantu.
- (330) Keraéng Djaranika dengan Maharadjaléla mengamuk bagai orang jang gila sedikitpun tidak ada bertjela bertikamkan keris berhéla-héla.
- (331) Keraéng Djaranika berkata kasar Datu' Maharadjaléla marilah keluar dengan sekalian anak Mengkasar marilah mengamuk kita keluar. 22
- (332) Berperang itu pagi-pagi hari Welanda dan Bugis banjaklah lari sedikitpun tidak gentar dan ngeri ketika kembali petanglah hari.
- (333) Welanda mati bertindih bangkai bertjampur dengan anak Ternate sekalianja itu berbadju rantai disanalah Welanda banjak terkapai.
- (334) Seorang bernama Kapitan Djongkor perangnja tidak mau undur sekalian kapal disuruhnja atur kena meriam ia tersungkur.
- (335) Kepada si Tunderu' ia berkata hampir bénténg Maharadjaléla bunji meriam rentaka dan léla ra'jat melihat hatinja gila.
- (336) Kornilis Sipalman mengikat perang akan sajak kanan Bugis jang garang Ambon Meluku kepala perang berbariskan setingar tombak jang pandjang.

329b: membantu (membätü); 329d: Meluku (m-l-ü-l-h); 330a: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ä-dj-l-l-î-l); 330c: bertjela (b-r-tj-î-l); 331b: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ä-dj-l-l-î-l); 333d: terkapai (t-r-k-m-p-î); 335a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ü-r); 335b: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ä-dj-l-l-î-l); 335d: léla (l-l-î-l).

- (337) Buton pentjuri akan sajak kiri
Welandā dan Bugis ada berdiri
melihat Mengkasar datang berperī-perī.
si kuffār kutuk lalulah lari. (22a)
- (338) Kapitan Amiral mendjadi tubuh
seperti upama kota jang teguh
memukul tambur terlalu gemuruh
bahananja seperti tagar dan guruh.
- (339) Suatu ketumbukan Kapitan Djongkor
ia berdiri mendjadi ékor
tunggulnja belang berbunga tabur
alperés dan sarean djuru mengatur.
- (340) Setelah bertitah Sultan jang besar
menitahkan Melaju dengan Mengkasar
berperang itu berpusar-pusar
laksana angin barat jang besar.
- (341) Setelah hulubalang menengar titah
lalu mengatur alat perintah
sekaliannja musta'ib hadirilah sudah
tidaklah lagi menantikan titah.
- (342) Segala hulubalang baginda Sultan
seperti harimau berlompatan
upama ranggas lembing sumpitan
pandji-pandji dan tunggul berkibar-kibaran.
- (343) Berperang itu terlalu sabar
Maharadjaléla dengan Kapitan Djongkor
perangnja sampai waktu lohor
kapalpun lari ketengah undur.
- (344) Banjaknja kapal tiga puluh
ia membedil legah dan leguh
siang dan malam tiadalah teduh
demikianlah lakunja Welandā mati dibunuh. 23

337c, 337d are repeated; 337d: kuffār (k-ü-f-r);
339d: ā-l-p/ng-î-r d-ā-n s-r-n-î dj-ü-r m-ng-t-r; 340d: angin barat
(barat angin); 344b: membedil (m-b-d-î-l).

- (345) Setelah dilihat oleh Mengkasar
segeralah ia kesana menjambar
Melajupun tampil dengan setinggar
lambung perisai seperti pagar.
- (346) Tidaklah sempat mengikat perang
ra'jat Mengkasar tidak terlarang
berlompat seperti harimau jang garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang.
- (347) Keraéng Djaranika melihat Weland
baginda mengamuk seraja berkuda
rupa sikapnja seperti garuda
ia berani berbenténgkan dada.
- (348) Keraéng Patunga upama Gatotkatja
sikapnja seperti Sang Djaja Amarta
sungguhpun orangnja tidak berapa
melihat musuh hendak diterpa.
- (349) Perang itu terlalu sabur
peluru meriam bagai ditabur
tambahan si kuffār sangat tekebur
amat gempita dengan bunji tambur.
- (350) Perang itu terlalu besar
berhambatan berpusar-pusar
seperti puting beliung angin jang besar
demikianlah perang Bugis Mengkasar.
- (351) Melajupun sabas orang berani
menempuh ketumbukan Buton Nasrani
dengan setinggar dihudjan-hudjani
banjaklah mati disana sini. (23a)
- (352) Beramuk-amukan terlalu ramai
seperti perang Maharadja Bumi
segala hulubalang jang ternama-namai
dengan Keraéng Djaranika bersama-samai.

345b: menjambar (m-nj-ā-m-r); 347d: berbenténgkan (b-r-b-n-t-ng-k-n);
348b: Sang Djaja Amarta (s-ng-dj-ā-î ā-m-r-t-ā); 349c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r);
350c: puting (pünting).

- (353) Lakunja seperti gadjah jang meta
si kuffärpun tidak menderita
terlalu banjak kena sendjata
rupanja médan gelap gulita.
- (354) Karaéng Mamu upama Sang Samba
ia memakai serba kesumba
sikapnja seperti singa berlumba
ia mengamuk berlumba-lumba.
- (355) Keraéng Bonto laksana Sang Radjuna
ia memakai badju lamina
sikapnja seperti Maharadja Rawana
menempuh ketumbukan Meluku jang hina.
- (356) Daéng Maréwa upama Sang Parta
ia memakai terapang suasa
menempuh ketumbukan kafir jang dusta
si haiwanpun tidak menderita.
- (357) Daéng ri Boko Sahbandar jang tua
sikapnja seperti panah jang dua
ampun keraéng tidaklah dua
bagindapun termasjhur berani djua.
- (358) Daéng Mabelá muda jang sabar
ia memakai gaduk dan destar
seperti patung didalam gambar
ia mengamuk dua sesambar.
- (359) Bunji meriam seperti bertih
barang jang kena darah meléléh
ada jang mati ada jang letih
tidaklah lagi toléh-menoléh.
- (360) Anak sumpitan seperti udjan
sekalian jang kena habis kebisaan
tiada lagi dirasakan
menempuh djuga ia melawan.

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353b: kuffärpun (k-ü-f-r p-ü-n); 354b: serba kesumba (s-r-ä-b ch-s-m-b-l)
356a: Sang Parta (s-ng-p-ä-t); 356b: terapang (t-t-r-ä-p-ng);
356d: haiwanpun (dj-ü-w-n p-ü-n); 358d: dua sesambar (d-ü-s-ä-s-m-b-r).

- (361) Bertikamkan lembing seperti bermain
tjarik-mentjarik badju dan kain
kena dadanja sampai ketemin
mati itu datang jang lain.
- (362) Berpaukan pedang seperti bersenda
kena kepalanja belah dua
banjaklah mati diatas kuda
kepalanja ditendas samanja muda.
- (363) Bertikamkan keris berpegang pinggang
keduanja mati sama terlentang
adalah upama batang pisang
dikerat Mengkasar dengan pedang.
- (364) Gegap gempita tempik dan sorak
barang penakut lari berteriak
jang berani bertempik pulak
mara menempuh terlalu galak.
- (365) Kepala laki-laki seperti anak keti
dikerat oleh jang berbadju rantai
tidaklah terbilang Buton Ternate
habis ber(gu)lingan sepanjang pantai. (24a)
- (366) Tiga puluh tiga kepala Welanda
dikerat pahlawan jang muda-muda
disembahkan kepada duli baginda
digandjar emas ditambahi kuda.
- (367) Sahbandar jang tua kena lembing
urat pahanja bagai digunting
itupun tidak baginda berpaling
sekadar undur ia mengiring.
- (368) Bagindapun radja jang termasyhur
disambut djuaknja dibawa undur
perang besar terlalu sabur
gegap gempita bertjampur-baur.

364d: mara (mārah); 365c: Ternate (t-r-n-ā-n-î); 365d: ber(gu)lingan
(b-r-l-î-ng-n); 367a: Sahbandar (s-j-î-h-b-n-d-ā-r); 367c: itupun
(ā-î-p-ū-n).

- (369) Didengar oléh Sultan di Gowa
Daéng ri Boko sabillah djua
titah kodrat itu ia bawa
dikuburkan didalam kota Gowa.
- (370) Hambanja sekalian gempar
berlari-lari dada ditampar
dihela rambut dihempaskan destar
lalu menangis berpuser-puser.
- (371) Anakanda baginda datang mengadap
memeluk mentjium seraja mendakap
orangpun hadir sekalian lengkap
menantikan ajahanda keluar dihadap.
- (372) Ajuh ajahanda ambillah beta
tiada kuasa duduk bertjinta
djikalau patik patut memegang sendjata
dengan sekarang sabillah kita. 25
- (373) Lalulah ia bertangis-tangisan
daéng perempuan reballah pingsan
meratap arwah ketumpuan
air matanja bertjutjuran.
- (374) Setelah ingat daripada pingsan
kepada kaki baginda kepalanja ditundukkan
kepada dada rambutnja disapukan
kakanda lihat lakuan tuan.
- (375) Ditanamkan orang lalu dikuburkan
diratakan tanah bunga ditaburkan
keduanja médjan pula diaturkan
tidak keruan saja katakan.
- (376) Malak al-maut datang memanggil
Daéng Mabéla matilah sabil
badan sadja dapat diambil
dibawa kembali dipasangkan bedil.

369c: kodrat (k-d-â-r-t); 373c: ketumpuan (k-t-m-p-ü-â-n); 374d: tuan
(t-ü-'-â-n); 375c: médjan (m-i-z-â-n).

(377) Keduanja medjan telah diatutkan
bunga rampai pula ditaburkan
itulah tandanja orang jang burhan
chabarnja termasjhur mendjadi zaman.

(378) Kemudian kena anak Djuru datjing
kena lembing terus terkantjing
kena setingar diatas kening
iapun rebah badan terguling.

(379) Dilihat oleh hamba sahanja
diusung oleh sanak saudaranja
segeralah undur dibawanja
lalulah pulang kerumahnja.

(25a)

(380) Terlalu ramai orang meratap
saudara dan sahabat hadir mengadap
ajahanda dan bunda datang mendakap
memeluk mentjium seraja meratap.

(381) Ajuh tuan lihatlah ibu
tidak ketahuan tingkah dan laku
bukankah tuan tjahaja matak
mengapakah anak meninggalkan aku.

(382) Tuan tegur apalah emak
bukakan kiranja matamu anak
orang melihat terlalu banjak
melihat lukamu darahnja banjak.

(383) Suara ibumu paraulah sudah
mengadjak tuan naik kerumah
santapan tuan hadirlah sudah
ibumu menanti tunduk tengadah.

(384) Buah hati batu kepala
ibumu seperti orang jang gila
dimana tuan kutjari pula
sukarlah ibumu akan bergala.

377a: medjan (m-i-z-ā-n); 382d: darahnja (d-ā-r-ā-nj);
384d: bergala (b-r-g-ā-l-h).

- (385) Ditjorék tanah digalikan kubur
menggali liang papan diukur
ditanamkan seperti orang jang tidur
médjan didirikan dua beratur.
- (386) Di Balai Bunga terlalu ramai
disanalah asal mula berdamai
berkampunglah Welanda Sopéng dan Bone
Mengkasar berhimpun terlalu ramai. 26
- (387) Musjawarat tidak berapa bentar
habislah orang sekalian gempar
Amirapun lari berkedjar-kedjar
takut diperdajakan oleh Mengkasar.
- (388) Setelah sudah sekalian lari
si Tunderu' terkedjut lalu berdiri
Radja Meluku sangatlah ngeri
matanja memandang kanan dan kiri.
- (389) Keraéng Djaranika dihadapan Sultan
dengan si Tunderu' ia dihadapan
keduanja seperti harimau djantan
Keraéng Patunga jang dibitjarakan.
- (390) Gempar itu bukan mengapa
si kuffār lari teraba-raba
orang dirumah bertimpa-timpa
setengah djatuh terlalu luka.
- (391) Oleh Sultan Radja di Gowa
bertachta dengan Radja jang tua
keduanja tersenjum sekalian tertawa
melihat laku Buton dan Djawa.
- (392) Akan hulubalang baginda Sultan
sekalian hadir dengan djabatan
sekadar titah jang dinantikan
seperti ranggas lembing sumpitan.

385a: Ditjorék (d-tj-r-î-'); 385d: médjan (m-î-z-â-n); 386a: Balai
Bunga (b-â-l-î b-û-ng); 388b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-û-r);
389b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-û-r); 390b: si kuffār (s-k-û-f-r);
392b: djabatan (dj-dj-â-b-t-n).

- (393) Sekalian Bugis Buton Ternate
tjepiaunja tidak sempat dipakai
dimana penghulu dimana sakai
rebah rempah dengan badju rantai. (26a)
- (394) Amiralpun lelah ternganga-nganga
mulutnja itu seperti arang belanga
seperti kambing takut akan singa
kedjut dengan daun telinga.
- (395) Pembohongnja sangat kafir Nasrani
mengatakan dirinja sangat berani
sekadar djua ia bersembunji
sungguhlah ia kesana sini.
- (396) Sultan bertitah kepada si Tunderu
Amiral itu pergilah pudgek
suruh kembali ia dudok
supaja bitjara kita perelok.
- (397) Pergilah ia hulubalang petah
kepada Amiral menjampaiakan titah
Kapitan djangan kau nin amarah
baiklah tentukan barang perintah.
- (398) Amiral menjahut seraja ngeri
mengapatah beta dipermaburi
djikalau hendak bitjara disini
biarlah nanti hari jang sunji.
- (399) Terlalu amarah Amiral andjing
ia berkata seraja mendjeling
berilah tahu kepada Keraeng
suruhlah kembali Boné dan Sopéng.
- (400) Kembalilah hulubalang baginda Sultan
bersembahkan kata Welandá sjaitan
Radja Palaka berkata perlahan
barang kehendaknja tuanku ikutkan.

394d: k-ä-tj-ü-t d-ng-n d-ä-ü-ä-n t-l-î-ng-h; 396a: si Tunderu
(s-î-t-n-d-ü-r); 398b: dipermaburi (d-p-r-m-ä-b-ü-d-î); 399d: Boné (n-ü-n-î)

- (401) Pulanglah si Tunderu' mendapatkan Amirah
lalulah ia turun kekapal
menjingsingkan destar seraja berchabar
mengatakan laku Radja Mengkasar.
- (402) Setelah malam sudahlah hari
Sultan berangkat lalu kembali
musjawarat ia dengan segala menteri
memberi manfa'at kepada segala negeri.
- (403) Keradjaannja sangat berdiri
baginda itulah jang membitjarakan negeri
jang kehendaknja itu sengadja diberi
djanganlah ia takut dan ngeri.
- (404) Djundjungankulah radja jang mulia
kemuliannja itu daripada Tuhan jang sedia
terdjauhlah mara dan bahaja
dari bawah duli radja jang kaja.
- (405) Baginda itu manis perangainja
muhtasjam dalam maligainja
seperti manikam dalam meterainja
beroleh tjahaja kedua negerinja.
- (406)
.....
sempurna 'arif lagi bangsawan
saudara sepupu kepada Sultan.
- (407) Masjhurlah baginda Sultan djauhari
beroleh tjahajanja kedua negeri
kehendak Allah sudah memberi
sedikit tidak gentar dan ngeri.
- (408) Masjhurlah Keraeng jang kepudjian
sentiaa didalam kesukaan
dengan kakanda baginda berkepatutan
laksana emas mengikat intan. (27a)

401a: si Tunderu' (s-î-t-n-d-ü-r); 401c: menjingsing (m-nj-î-ng-k-n);
404b: Tuhan (t-ü-n); 406a, 406b are lacking.

- (409) Bidjaksana bukan kepalang
tjahaja mukanja gilang gemilang
anak marhum Pati Matarang
diketakuti menteri dan hulubalang.
- (410) Baginda Radja di Bontowala'
seperti zaitun pohonja rampak
tempat bernaung sekalian chalajak
dengan murahnja baginda pula.
- (411) Tatkala berkelahi dengan si kuffār
bagindalah memerintahkan negeri Mengkasar
berdua dengan Sultan jang besar
sekalian ra'jat ketjil dan besar.
- (412) Allah ta'ala makbulkan pinta
barang selamat duli makota
kekal karar duduk bertachta
dā'im qā'im didalam kota.
- (413) Tidaklah pandjang kissah memudji
terlalu muskil pantun dan njanji
djikalau salah sadjak dan bunji
adalah satu nama jang kedji.
- (414) Antara selang beberapa hari
Amir(al) naik ia sendiri
pajung berapit kanan dan kiri
Sultan dihadap segala menteri.
- (415) Disuruh datang iapun datang
lalu bertemu ditengah padang
sikap rupanja segala hulubalang
ra'jatpun banjak tidak terbilang.
- (416) Bersama-sama dengan si Tunderu'
lakunja itu seperti Welanda mabuk
Radja Meluku iapun masuk
serta si kuffār Welanda kutuk.

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409b: marhum (m-r-ü-h-ü-m); 409c: Pati Matarang (p-t-ng
ā-ng-k-ā-w-ā-ng); 411a: kuffār (k-ü-f-r); 413b: muskil (m-s-i-k-l);
414a: selang (sīlang); 414b: Amir(al) (ā-m-r); 416c: masuk (m-s-b-q).

- (417) Berkatalah Amiral meneguhkan djandji
serta menjebut nama Kompeni
segala hartanja disuruhnja ganti
banjaknja itu lima puluh kati.
- (418) Didjawab oléh Radja jang tua
Kapitan wé djangan berhati dua
jang emas itu kita ganti djua
bétapun tidak mau ketjéwa.
- (419) Sukalah hati kafir jang dusta
tertawa-tawa ia berkata
di Udjung Pandang suatu kota
berilah pindjam kepada kita.
- (420) Itupun diberi oléh Keraéng
sebab katanja dipindjam sembahjang
berkenanlah tipu si kuffâr andjing
sukalah hati Boné dan Sopéng.
- (421) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
berbunjilah bedil terlalu 'azmat
seolah-olah akan kiamat
seperti melajang rasanja semangat.
- (422) Bunji meriam amat gemuruh (28a)
seperti bahana tagar dan guruh
sikap tunggulnja upama suluh
alamat téwas daripada musuh.
- (423) Radja bertuah sempurna keraéng
bagindalah radja jang amat kering
setelah sudah berdamai keraéng
kembalilah segala Boné dan Sopéng.
- (424) Berlajarliah Welanda ke Udjung Padang
dengan segala Bugis jang malang
istiméwa Meluku Buton jang dalang
patutlah dengan Ternaté malang.

420b: sembahjang (s-m-b-i-ng); 420c: berkenanlah (b-r-k-ā-n-t-l-h);
420d: Sopéng (s-m-p-i-ng); 422c: tunggul (t-ng-k-l); 423b: kering
(k-r-i-ng); 424c: istiméwa (ā-s-m-i-w-ā).

- (425) Iajarlah kapal lalu mengambang
naiklah Amiral ke Udjung Pandang
.....
.....
- (426) Di Udjung Pandang Amiral duduk
bersamalah dengan si Tunderu'
Iajo' dan Bangkal kena masuk
alamat orang jang kena kutuk.
- (427) Duduklah Bugis di Udjung Pandang
sehari-hari ke Sambo(pu) berulang-ulang
segenap kampung mengambil orang
sekalian Boné kembali pulang.
- (428) Semuanja itu menaruh dendam
melihatkan laku Bugis djahanam
sabarlah ia sekalian diam
sekadar sendjatanja dipertadjam.
- (429) Tetaplah Amiral di Udjung Pandang
ramailah orang kesana datang
membawa emas penukar uang
murahnja sangat bukan kepalang. 29
- (430) Djika dibalai terlalu ramai
tandanja putus sudah berdamai
Amiral mengeluarkan kain permai
setengah diberikan Sopéng dan Boné.
- (431) Perinja nasib untung jang malang
sudah putik mendjadi kembang
melihat fi'il Nasrani djembalang
hatiku panas bukan kepalang.
- (432) Ada seorang Keraéng jang lalim
lakunja djahat tiada muslim
.....
.....

425c 425d are lacking; 427b: sehari-hari (s-ā-r-î 2); Sambo(pu)
(s-m-b-ū); 429c: penukar wang (p-n-ū-k-r-ā-ū-ng); 430c: permai
(p-r-ā-m-î); 431a: Perinja (p-r-î-n).

- (433) Bukannja fakir mentjelai
dengan titah radja jang ali
hilanglah budi luput upaja
Sultapun tidak lagi pertjaja.
- (434) Kornilis Sipalman tersebut pula
datang bentjana kafir jang gila
sebuah kapal kapitannja gila
terlanggar kedarat disuruhnja hela.
- (435) Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
kepada Welanda Boné dan Sopéng
tariklah kapal perbuat benténg
berkenalah akal Welanda andjing.
- (436) Pertama mula perkataan
Datu' Bangkal mentjari djalan
sungguhpun ia orang budiman
kepada Amiral ia bertolan.
- (437) Dengarkan chabar tuan dan datu' (29a)
akan Keraéng Bangkal dan Lajo'
berbuat benténg tidaklah elok
akalnja itu hendak berkélok.
- (438) Harinja naik pagi-pagi hari
tinggallah benténg Welanda Nasrani
tidaklah saja pandjangi lagi
seorangpun tidak pertjaja lagi.
- (439) Ketika malam sudahlah hari
berbunjilah bedil kaum Nasrani
Datu' jang mengampiri
Keraéng Bangkal lalu lari.
- (440) Keraéng itu lari kedarat
habislah dibawanja sekalian ra'jat
kepada Amiral berkirin surat
minta didjemput berbangat-bangat.

434c: kapitannja (k-p-i-t-nj); 435a: mendjeling (m-n-dj-ā-l-ng);
435d: berkenalah (b-r-k-n-l-h); 439c: Datu' (Datu' Bangkal);

- (441) Kepada Datu' disuruhkan
oléh Amiral Penghulu Kapitan
serta bertemu diberinja makan
lalu ia turun berdjalan.
- (442) Berdjalan itu tidak memandang
mendapatkan Amiral ke Ujung Pandang
serta bertemu lalu berpegang
Keraéng wé djangan berhati bimbang.
- (443) Akan tjakap Keraéng Lajo'
kepada Amira(1) Weland kutuk
Kapitan djangan berhati sibuk
ke Sanderabone akulah masuk.
- (444) Akan tjakap Keraéng Lengkés
kepada si Tunderu' orang jang bengis
lihatlah kelak perang si Bugis
daripada lari baiklah habis.
- (445) Akan kata Keraéng Bangkal
keraéng wé djangan hatimu sebal
berkat Tuan Kapitan Amiral
Sanderabone boléhan bekal.
- (446) Keraéng Lajo' tidak berkata
sekadar membaiki sekalian sendjata
kepada Keraéng ia berkata
apabila Keraéng berdjalan kita.
- (447) Akan kata Keraéng Bangkal
baiklah kita hadirkan bekal
masa baik dengan tawakkal
ke Sanderabone ia berkumpul.
- (448) Ke Sanderabone iapun sampai
ra'jat berdjalan menjusur pantai
segala djuaknja berbadju rantai
seperti andjing beroléh bangkai.

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443b: Amira(1) (ā-m-r-ā); 443c: sibuk (s-b-q); 444b: si Tunderu'
(s-t-n-d-ū-r); bengis (b-ū-g-s); 445b: hatimu (h-l-t-m); 446b and
446d are reversed in ms.

- (449) Keraéng Sanderaboné mendengar chabar kedatangan musuh terlalu besar dengan berkat Tuhan wahid al-kahar sedikitpun tidak ngeri dan gentar.
- (450) Akan titah duli Sultan^{*} kampungkan ra^cjat kita sekalian sekedjap djuga berlompatan mendengar chabar ada angkatan.
- (451) Keraéng Djaranika bertjakap kepada Sultan lakunja seperti harimau djantan dengan berkat duli Jang dipertuan Bangkal dan Lajo³ patik melawan. (30a)
- (452) Akan kata Keraéng Balo³ bertjakap dihadapan Radja di Telo³ djika sekadar Bangkal dan Lajo³ biarlah patik pergi mengamuk.
- (453) Setelahpun sudah putus musjawarat dikarunia pula sekalian ra^cjat serta sudah memakan ni^cmat membatja pula do^a selamat.
- (454) Berbunjilah nobat genderang pekandjar berkampunglah ra^cjat ketjil dan besar menjingsingkan gaduk menjéngétkan destar mentjabut keris seraja berkandjar.
- (455) Berkandjar itu dihadapan Sultan sekalian ra^cjat dan pahlawan gembirannya sangat hendak melawan Keraéng Djaranika jang diturutkan.
- (456) Bagindalah radja jang terlalu besar turun berdjalan keris dikisar membawa ra^cjat anak Mengkasar dua ribu jang sudah bergandjar.

453a: putus (a-t-s); 454a: pekandjar (p-r-k-n-dj-r); 454c: menjéngétkan (m-nj-ng-t-k-n); 455d: diturutkan (d-q-ü-r-t-k-n).

- (457) Dua ratus jang berbadju rantai
niatnja hendak bertindih bangkai
Keraéng Djaranika seperti mempelai
ke Sanderabone iapun sampai.
- (458) Bugis kutuk lintang pukang
mengatakan Keraéng Djaranika datang
Keraéng Léngkés adalah mamang
apa bitjara kita sekarang.
- (459) Keraéng Sanderabone seorang itu
hatinja teguh seperti batu
perintahnja baik sangat bertentu
Keraéng Djaranika datang membantu.
- (460) Setelah fadjar haripun siang
bangunlah sekalian hulubalang
Keraéng Djaranika memegang pedang
baiklah kita tampil berperang.
- (461) Beraninja sangat Keraéng Léngkés
mentjabut keris serta memekis
lakunja itu seperti kaum iblis
disanalah banjak Mengkasar habis.
- (462) Perangnja tidak berapa hari
anak Mengkasar tidaknja ngeri
duduknja itu seperti diatas duri
karena dikepung Welanda pentjuri.
- (463) Putus bitjara sudah berperi
ésok berperang ketika seri
dua hulubalang dibunuhnja mati
ra'jat melanggar kanan dan kiri.
- (464) Bugis kutuk Welanda kuffār
beramuk-amukan dengan Mengkasar
Keraéng Djaranika upama pagar
banjaklah Bugis mati terkapar.

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- (465) Keraéng Sanderaboné lagi hulubalang
apa bitjara (anak)anda sekarang
Keraéng Djaranika upama wajang
mana perintah kekanda abang. (31a)
- (466) Keraéng Bangkal adalah ngeri
Kapitan membawa diri
larinja ketika tengah hari
mengadap Kapitan kaum Nasrani.
- (467) Datanglah ia ke Udjung Pandang
Amiral melihat bertelekan pinggang
apa chabar orang berperang
siapa alah siapa jang menang.
- (468) Akan djawab Keraéng berperang
djanganlah kita duduk bersenang
djika musuh datang menjerang
pertetap hati segala hulubalang.
- (469) Akan kata Keraéng Lengkés
ra'jat sénjor sekalian habis
kata Amiral penghulu iblis
hatinja itu sangatlah bengis.
- (470) Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
mengapakah mau bertjakap Keraéng
dihadapan Welanda Boné dan Sopéng
sungguhlah engkau seperti andjing.
- (471) Datu' itu sangatlah malu
karena perangnja sudahlah talu
Keraéng Bangkal seperti hantu
bitjaranja itu tidak bertentu.
- (472) Si Tunderu' berkata mulutnja manis
bitjaranja hendak membakarkan gedung Inggeris
Datu' berkata mentjabut keris
aku mengamuk sekalian habis. 32

465b: (anak)anda (ā-n-d); 467b: bertelekan (b-r-t-î-l-ā-k-n);
470c: dihadapan (d-h-n-d-p-n).

- (473) Setelah malam sudahlah hari
orangpun gempar mengatakan api
Datu' mengamuk kanan dan kiri
seorangpun tidak ada jang ngeri.
- (474) Datu' Maharadjalela sangatlah gusar
gedung Inggeris sudah terbakar
karena orang tidak keluar
ia berkata halus dan kasar.
- (475) Marahnja itu bukan kepalang
serta berdjalan mentjabut pedang
berbunji ragam serunai dan genderang
serta keluar lalu berperang.
- (476) Perang itu bersungguh-sungguh
dengan si Bugis mati dibunuh
Datu' L-n-ng upama tubuh
perangnja itu waktu subuh.
- (477) Daripada perang sudah berhenti
menanamkan majat orang jang mati
Weland Bugis lalulah lari
datang ke Maros membawa diri.
- (478) Setelah fadjar teranglah medan
Datu' mengadap duli Sultan
Berkat duli Jang dipertuan
sungguh berperang patik sekalian.
- (479) Demi Sultan mendengar sembah
fikir seketika tunduk tengadah
dimintakan Sultan kepada Allah
sekalian ra'jat disuruhnja kerah. (32a)
- (480) Keraéng Mamu penghulu Mengkasar
berdjalanlah ia lalu keluar
mendapatkan Weland kaum si kuffär
berperang datang waktu 'asar.

477b: menanamkan (m-n-m-k-n); 478a: medan ('-i-ā-n); 478d: sungguh
(s-ng-g-h-ū); 480c: kuffär (k-ü-f-r).

- (481) Berperang itu di Sambung Djawa
Keraéng Mamu berani membuang njawa
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan kedua
patikpun tidak mau ketjéwa.
- (482) Datu' Gagah sangat terbilang
ia mendjadi panglima perang
pengapitnja itu Datu' I-n-ng
ialah berserta temannja hilang.
- (483) Berdjalan itu menjusur pantai
sekalian djuaknja berbadju rantai
sendjatanja setingar lembing perisai
peranglah ia terlalu ramai.
- (484) Keraéng Mamu mara kedarat
Welanda dan Bugis banjak terkerat
perangnja itu seperti akan kiamat
si Tunderu? luka bahunja sangat.
- (485) Si Tunderu? luka lalulah pulang
Amiral melihat hatinja pusang
mendapatkan Welanda Bugis jang malang
ésok keluar kita berperang.
- (486) Kapitan Amiral sangat berani
mendjadi penghulu kaum Nasrani
berperang tidak tertahani
dihambat Mengkasar kesana sini.
- (487) Sultan keluar ketika ésok
diiringkan Mengkasar dengan Tuwadjo?
berdjandji dengan Radja di Telo?
mendapatkan Welanda kaum si Tunderu?
- (488) Radja di Telo' pun tiada datang
baginda memandang adalah pusang
baginda Sultan mengikat perang
Amiral keluar lalu berperang.

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481a: Sambung Djawa (s-m-b-ng dj-ā-w-'); 482d: ialah (ā-ī-t-ū-l-h);
484a: mara (r-ā-r-h); 484d: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r); 485a: Si Tunderu'
(s-t-n-d-ū-r); 487d: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r); 488c: mengikat
(m-ng-ī-k-ū-t).

- (489) Perangnja tidak lagi berhenti.
Mengkasar dan Tuwado' banjaklah mati
diapun undur membawa diri
dihambat Meluku Bugis pentjuri.
- (490) Akan titah Radja jang tua
baiklah berbenteng di Sambung Djawa
perang itu sangat ketjéwa
ra'jatpun banjak membuang njawa.
- (491) Di Sambung Djawa benteng terdiri
si Tunderu' datang mengeluari
perangnja itu tidak berapa hari
Melaju dan Mengkasar banjak jang lari.
- (492) Mengkasar dan Melaju tidak bertahan
karena mengiringkan baginda Sultan
larinja itu sambil bertahan
diturut Bugis Welanda sjaitan.
- (493) Di Sambung Djawa bentengpun alah (33a)
Bugis berperang dahulu kala
sudah dengan kehendak Allah
dimana benteng terdiri (di)mana alah.
- (494) Dilihat Amiral benteng terdiri
dikepungnja dengan kaum kafiri
Ambon Meluku Bugis pentjuri
sekaliannja itu sudah terdiri.
- (495) Amiral memanggil akan si Tunderu'
menjuruhkan Ternate Ambon jang mabuk
tambahan Bugis Welanda kutuk
sekalian bertjakap hendak mengamuk.
- (496) Datu' Gagah seorang hulubalang
melihat si Tunderu' iapun datang
sekalian meriam disuruhnja pasang
terlalu ramai ia berperang.

491b:	si Tunderu'	(s-t-n-d-ū-r);	493d:	dimana	(m-ā-n);
495a:	si Tunderu'	(s-t-n-d-ū-r);	495b:	Ternate	(t-r-n-n-t-î);
496b:	si Tunderu'	(s-t-n-d-ū-r).			

- (497) Perangnja tidak berhenti datang
si Tunderu' melihat hatinja pusang
menjuruh menghimpunkan sekalian orang
ésok hari kita berperang.
- (498) Berperang itu terlalu sabur
tiada ketahuan tjampur dan baur
ada jang mara ada jang undur
barang jang berani tidaklah undur.
- (499) Demikianlah kepada ésok hari
si Tunderu' djua jang mengeluarkan
perangnja tidak berapa hari,
di Mandja(na)ng pula bénténg terdiri.
- (500) Dengarkan apalah fakir bermadah
djangan kiranja fakir disumpah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
dimana bénténg terdiri dimana alah.
- (501) Di Balang Baru bénténg jang besar
dilihat Welanda kaum si kuffâr
dibedilnja dengan meriam jang besar
disanalah ngeri anak Mengkasar.
- (502) Keraéng Djaranika upama Sang Bima
Keraéng Mamu bersama-sama
sekalian djuaknja jang ternama-nama
keluar mengamuk bersama-sama.
- (503) Keraéng Mamu sangat terbilang
ia mendjadi panglima perang
jang mengiringkan dia sekalian hulubalang
kanan dan kiri mengambat orang.
- (504) Bugis kutuk terlalu ngeri
kesana sini membawa diri
Keraéng Djaranika jang mengeluarkan
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati.

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497b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ü-r); 497c: menghimpunkan
(m-m-h-m-p-n-k-n); 499b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ü-r); 499d: Mandja(na)ng
(m-n-tj-ng); 501a: Balang Baru (b-l-ng b-ü-r-ā-h); 501b: si kuffâr
(s-k-ü-f-r); 503d: mengambat (m-c-m-t).

- (505) Keraéng Djaranika muda jang sedia
ia mengamuk sambil berkuda
Keraéng Mamu seperti garuda
keduanja anak saudara baginda.
- (506) Si Tunderu' itu orang jang garang
berani mengamuk bukan kepalang
tambahan Meluku Buton jang malang
membuang njawa tidaklah sajang.
- (507) Perangnja itu terlalu besar (34a)
tidaklah terdengar bunji setinggar
bunji meriam laksana tagar
ra'jatpun banjak mati terkapar.
- (508) Berperang itu terlalu subur
tiada ketahuan tjampur baur
malam dan siang tiada tidur
Keraéng Djaranika adalah undur.
- (509) Si Tunderu' itu hulubalang jang garang
mentjari 'akal (a)kan berperang
menggali lubang malam dan siang
dibubuhnja ubat berapa lojang.
- (510) Keraéng Djaranika ia berkata
biarlah si Tunderu' membakar kota
djikalau dengan tolong Dewata
lihatlah kelak tamasa kita.
- (511) Terbakarliah oléhnja kota Mengkasar
dengan kodrat Tuhan jang besar
memberi hati si kuffâr besar
berperang dengan Radja Mengkasar.
- (512) Terbakarliah kota Mengkasar
enam depa djuga kota terbakar
Welandâ dan Bugis kaum si kuffâr
berperang pula ia sebentar.

505c: Mamu (m-a-m-û-r); 506a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-û-r); 509a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-û-r); 509b: '(a)kan (k-n); 509c: menggali (m-ng-â-l-î); 510b: biarlah si Tunderu' (b-î-r-â-l-h s-t-n-d-û-r); 510d: tamasa (t-r-m-â-s); 511b: kodrat (q-û-d-â-r-t); 511c: si kuffâr (s-î-k-û-f-r); 512c: si kuffâr (s-î-k-û-f-r).

- (513) Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji
Mengkasar dihambat Bugis pentjuri
perangnja sampai setengah hari
lari ke Gowa membawa diri.
- (514) Tuan dengarkan fakir berpesan
dengan Welanda djangan bertolan
fi'linja itu seperti sjaitan
dimana negeripun tiada njaman. 35
- (515) Tuan dengarkan saja berkata
fakir ta' mau berbuat dusta
demikianlah asal mula berita
larilah sekalian kedalam kota.
- (516) Iradat Tuhan malik al-djabbar
kebilangnlah ra'jat anak Mengkasar
Sambopu itu kota jang besar
berkampunglah ra'jat Radja Mengkasar.
- (517) Entji' dan Tuan masuk kedalam
mengadap duli makota 'alam
akan mendengar titah Sjahi 'alam
patik menanti siang dan malam.
- (518) Akan titah radja jang tua-tua
apa bitjara Datu' semua
djikalau undur mari ke Gowa
segala perempuan dahulu bawa.
- (519) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Sultan keluar lalu berangkat
segala Melaju tiada mufakat
Datu' (Maha)radjaléla membawa si la'nat.
- (520) Sudahlah kalah negeri Mengkasar
dengan kodrat Tuhan malik al-djabbar
patik karangkan didalam fatar
kepada negeri jang lain supaja terchabar.

517b: makota (m-l-ū-t); 517c: Sjahi (sāh); 519d: (Maha)radjaléla
(r-ā-dj l-l-ī-l); 520b: kodrat (q-ū-d-ā-r-t); 520c: fatar (q-t-r).

- (521) Memohonkan ampun patik tuanku
kehendak Allah telah berlaku
kepada sjara' tidak berlaku
Bugis Buton Ternate hantu. (35a)
- (522) Lima tahun lamanja perang
sedikitpun tidak hatinja bimbang
sukatjita hati segala hulubalang
melihat musuh hendak berperang.
- (523) Mengkasar sedikit tidak gentar
ia berperang dengan si kuffār
djikalau tidak ra'jatnja lapar
tambahi lagi Welanda kuffār.
- (524) Tuan dengarkan fakir bermadah
tamatlah karangan Mengkasar alah
dengan si Tunderu' orang bida'ah
itupun sudah kehendak Allah.
- (525) Banjaklah salah kata dirambang
djikalau salah tilik dan pandang
minta ampun dagang mengarang
sudahlah putik mendjadi kembang.
- (526) Tamat karangan perang Mengkasar
téwas dengan Bugis Welanda kuffār
disebatkan orang anak Mengkasar
téwas perangnja karena lapar.
- (527) Entji' Amin empunja karangan
mendengarkan dia terlalu njaman
ialah sadjak empunja buatan
mengatur nazam berpandjangan.
- (528) Entji' Amin itu empunja kalam
mentjeriterakan perang kaum Islam
barang jang mati beroléh Islam
kemudiannja itu wallahu a'lam. 36

521d: Ternate (t-r-n-ā-n-î); 523b: si kuffār (s-k-ū-f-r); 523d: kuffār
(k-ū-f-r); 524c: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r); 526b: kuffār (k-ū-f-r);
527a: Amin (ā-m-b-n); 528a: Amin (ā-m-b-n).

- (529) Tammatlah kissah duli jang ghana
dikarang fakir hamba jang hina
dimeterai dalam kertas Tjina
sadjaknja larat banjak ta' kena.
- (530) Ajuh tuan segala jang membatja
djanganlah apa pudji dan tjutja
djika salah betulkan batja
karena kalbu tidak tjuatja.
- (531) Dalam menjurat mengikut paju
kalbu ta' perasaian mengidap raju
badan jang lelai mendaju-daju
adalah sedikit menaruh raju.
- (532) Kalbupun tidak amat periksa
pendengar tidak ada berdjasa
kepada Allah Tuhan jang esa
minta ampun sebarang dosa.
- (533) Tamatlah sudah kias 'ibarat
fakir da'if jang menjurat
disurat didalam kalbu gelorat
fikirkan badan sangat melarat.
- (534) Fakir jang gharib punja karangan
kalamnja tidak berpandjangan
kertas sekeping bekal tangan
akan pengiburlah angan-angan.

T A M A T A L - K A L A M

530b: pudji (p-ü-dj); 531c: lelai (l-î-l-î); 533c: gelorat
(gh-l-ü-r-t); 534d: pengiburlah (p-ng-î-ü-r-ā-l-h).

T R A N S L A T I O N

Few editors of Malay texts have felt it necessary to attach a translation to their work. The fact is surprising, because however easy a language Malay may be considered to be, intuitive comprehension of the content of a Malay work written two or three hundred years ago is not something that can simply be taken for granted today.

Certain editors have explained their reluctance to translate their text by quoting dicta such as de Hollander's "...het kan niet missen of hij, die, met het woordenboek ter hand, zich op de letterlijke vertaling van eene Sjair toelegt, zal haar vervelend vinden...",⁽¹⁾ although it might be retorted that some people would be prepared to risk even boredom, in order to achieve a better understanding of the text with which they find themselves confronted.

The inclusion of copious and detailed 'Notes' on the difficulties encountered by the editor will naturally go far towards smoothing the path of potential readers of the text, but as the choice of what is, and what is not, to be 'Noted' is necessarily subjective, the 'Notes' alone cannot provide all the answers to all the questions liable to be asked by such potential readers. It is here that the Translation comes in, to act as a sort of 'safety net', to catch any point of interpretation, perhaps a mere nuance

even, that, rightly or wrongly, is not considered worthy of a separate note. The translation therefore is not something apart, but an additional aid to understanding, complementing the 'Notes' in their joint function of providing an answer to any question that might be asked as to the meaning of the text.

The Translation is, of course, no less subjective (although wider in coverage) than the 'Notes', and while its presence guarantees that there will be an answer of some kind forthcoming, it cannot provide an absolute guarantee that the answer supplied will be the only one possible. Nevertheless, as the person who has wrestled longest with the text, the editor must be presumed to be the person best acquainted with it and therefore the person best qualified to explain it. As such, it is his duty, while pointing out and carefully considering all possible alternative interpretations, to 'come down off the fence' on the side of the interpretation he considers the likeliest, even where the odds in favour of this interpretation are no more than 51 to 49. The translation is the place for him to make plain his preferences.

In so far as was considered compatible with the principles outlined above, some attempt has been made to write the translation in English, and not in the language sometimes referred to as 'Translationese'.⁽²⁾ The result

may occasionally be found a little 'free' but often such freedom is the considered result of a desire to 'get over' the meaning of the whole rather than the part, the phrase or sentence rather than the word.

Finally, as a 'historical' sja'ir, the text may conceivably attract the attention of people other than those versed in Malay. Accordingly, proper names (spelt in Malay fashion in the text) have been given their conventional English spelling in the Translation, e.g. 'Kornilis Sipalman', 'Keraéng Léngkés' etc. in the text, turn up in the translation under their more familiar guise of 'Cornelis Speelman', 'Karaéng Léngkésé' etc.

N O T E S

- (1) de Hollander: HMT, p.307, quoted by Rusconi: SKW, p.10 (in preferring a synopsis to a translation.) The length of Rusconi's sja'ir admittedly made the matter of providing a translation no light matter, but it is arguable that a translation would have benefitted even the limited aim of historical comparison that Rusconi set himself. Such seems to have been the impression of that 'malleus editorum', the late W. Kern, who found it necessary to provide his own 'Notes' to Rusconi's work (Kern: ASH, p.212-257.)
- (2) Thus, no attempt has been made to reproduce the (lack of) punctuation of the original text.

THE RHYMED CHRONICLE OF THE MACASSAR WAR

- (1) "Bismi'llah" - divine words,
which it is our bounden duty to respect;
associated with "Rahmān",
they will result in the wise man obtaining what he seeks.
- (2) "Rahmān" is one of God's attributes,
inseparable from the essence of His being;
its manifestation cannot be localized
and it is difficult for the foolish to obtain.
- (3) "Rahīm" is one of the eternal attributes,
in which we are bound to believe;
whosoever obtains it,
need fear nothing in this world or the next.
- (4) "Al-hamdu li'llah" - most illustrious formula of praise,
made manifest in God's sublime words;
utterance of especial value for the attainment of the
ultimate Reality,
and composed towards that end by the Friend of God.
- (5) Now that the benediction is completed,
it is time to praise the Prophet;
there lies the beginning of His manifestation,
where God's inspiration finally came to rest.
- (6) Muhammad the last of the prophets,
summoning all to the presence of the Lord of the world;
although his brightness was formerly obscured,
from his rays came forth all creation.
- (7) Famous are the words of the blessing,
uttered amongst his creatures;
"Oh God, bless him," for his religious teaching,
for it was there that the true character of His radiance
was made manifest.
- (8)
.....
now that the blessing is completed,
it is time to praise the Companions of the Prophet.

- (9) First, the Companion Abū Bakr,
renowned for his devotion and steadfastness;
in support of the Prophet, the 'Lord of the Pulpit',
he carried on a holy war against the infidels,
obtaining divine grace from the Supreme Ruler.
- (10) Second, the Companion, the Lord 'Umar,
the Prophet's devoted friend;
day and night he kneeled in constant prayer,
his countenance as resplendent as the sun and the moon.
- (11) Third, the Companion, the Lord 'Uthmān,
beloved of the last of the prophets;
he it was who obeyed God's command,
and collected together those of the scriptures that
are inspired.
- (12) Fourth, the Companion, the Lord 'Alī,
who was, moreover, the son-in-law of the Prophet;
his bravery was outstanding - beyond description -
"The Tiger of God" he was styled.
- (13) Your subject lays a poem
at Your Imperial Highness' feet;
it tells of Your Majesty's royal state
and of your enforcing the sacred law by day and by
night.
- (14) Your Highness, Sultan most lavish,
perfect in wisdom and understanding,
master of the fourteen types of knowledge,
attaining to the most perfect Reality.
- (15) Most respected and wise king,
versed in the Tradition and in the Divine Ordinances,
loyally carrying out the Prophet's injunctions,
the beloved of the last of the Prophets.
- (16) The king is a most pious ruler
destined to be one of the elect;
an expert reciter of the Koran,
he has attained to the very highest rank.

- (17) Your Highness - possessor of supernatural power -
most devoted to the service of God and His Prophet,
pure in heart and sincere of purpose
like the very Water of Life.
- (18) His kingly power is of no mean order,
perfect in its completeness like a jewel in its
setting;
when waited upon by his officers,
radiant indeed is his countenance.
- (19) Valiant and blessed king,
whose rule is just and whose heart is merciful,
every year making his charitable contributions
so that the poor and needy all benefit from his
abundant generosity.
- (20) Sultan of Gowa - ruler most tolerant,
staunch adherent of the divine law,
shunning the forbidden, seeking always to obey God's
injunctions,
ever ready to be instructed by men of divine learning.
- (21) The king is most handsome
as is his cousin of Tallo';
like the cooling dew,
his radiance is bestowed upon all his subjects.
- (22) This foreigner has still not finished his account:
the king has been a perfect ruler,
ever in harmony with his cousin,
like a jewel in its golden setting.
- (23) Most politic is the speech of His Majesty,
the result of men of learning being constantly at his
side;
when listening to a report or a statement
he can sift the true from the false.
- (24) May your Majesty reign for ever,
as free from storms as holy water in a bowl;
all your wishes shall come to pass;
great is your army and many are its divisions.

- (25) Your humble servant submits this composition in the hope of winning favour with Your Highness; its arrangement is clumsy, it has many faults, due to the lack of insight of the writer.
- (26) This wretched foreigner begs for forgiveness, as he relates your virtues in ballad form; the reason I composed these poor verses was so that other countries might hear the story.
- (27) Your lowly servant asks for forgiveness, his verses are of little account; they tell of the virtues of our most lavish prince so that all men of understanding may know of them.
- (28) I only venture to do so in the hope of finding favour in Your Majesty's eyes; forgive this lowly creature whose work contains so many mistakes.
- (29) After paying homage to the Sultan we begin the story by telling how the damned
Hollanders,
under the supreme command of Cornelis Speelman, were about to set out for Buton.
- (30) That was how things began; there were the Dutch and their allies, the Bugis, that renowned Hollander, Cornelis Speelman and Aru Palakka as the Bugis general.
- (31) The Dutch and their allies were gathered together. Said their savage commander-in-chief;
"If we can defeat these Macassarese, you, Palakka, shall be king of the Bugis."
- (32) When Aru Palakka heard the words of the besotted Dutch general, he rose from his seat, saying:
"I shall drive all before me on the field of battle."

- (33) The perjured Bugis went on to say:
"A day's bombardment will see the town in ruins;
you can have everything of value
and I'll have the pick of the women.
- (34) After we've defeated them,
everything we take shall be offered up to you.
Macassar shall be subject to you,
I ask for the throne of Boné."
- (35) When the general heard
the words of the dunder-headed Palakka,
he gave orders for all his ships to be fitted out
and appointed one of his officers as commander of
the fleet.
- (36) When plans had been agreed upon,
the Dutch and Bugis collected their equipment;
a stock of muskets were speedily taken on board,
with all the soldiers stipulated in the commission.
- (37) There were seven hundred and sixty young soldiers,
wearing Dutch-style tunics;
they looked as fierce as Garudas
and everyone went on board.
- (38) There were eighteen large vessels;
the entire fleet hoisted sail;
with a strong westerly breeze blowing
they arrived at Macassar.
- (39) The fleet anchored off Barombong.
Said the damned Bugis:
"If the king sends envoys
let's seize them and hold them here."
- (40) The imagination of the Bugis and Dutch!,
saying that the king would be frightened.
But then again the Bugis are such liars
that everything they say is exaggerated.

- (41) Of those who witnessed their arrival
some were glad while others were despondent;
they gathered together to take counsel
then went to the palace to inform the Sultan.
- (42) The Daéngs and Karés went into the palace
to wait upon His Majesty;
they gathered together - all good Muslims -
awaiting the Sultan's commands.
- (43) Asked the Sultan:
"Whom had we best send as envoy
to ask the damned Hollanders what they want?
If they are bent on war, we shall fight them."
- (44) Karaéng Katapang broke in:
"Set your mind at rest, Karaéng;
if the Dutch mean to fight,
we shall assemble all our forces."
- (45) The royal drum and the war-drums were beaten,
making a sound like the rolling of thunder;
the people began to assemble, high and low alike,
and alarm spread throughout Macassar.
- (46) Declared the noble Karaéng Popo
as he drew his fine cutlass from its sheath:
"Wherever Aru Palakka's column fights
just let me get in there!"
- (47) Karaéng Léngkése' broke in
drawing his cutlass in a gesture of defiance:
"If it's no more than Dutch and Bugis,
destruction is better than capture."
- (48) Declared the aged Karaéng Garassi'
before his two royal nephews:
"Whatever the task, I shall undertake it;
for I am an old man whose time is nearly come."

- (49) Karaéng Bonto Majannang, the Sultan's (half-)brother, tiger-like in his bearing, said:
 "Wherever I am ordered to go
 my only thought shall be to fight the Dutch and Bugis."
- (50) The came Karaéng Jarannika's turn.
 His face a fiery red, he said:
 "Dutch and Bugis - those foul dogs!
 May I be damned if ever I am disloyal to you!"
- (51) Said the ever-alert Karaéng Panjallingang
 as he leapt forward, drawing his short kris:
 "If ever I, your liegeman, retreat before the enemy,
 may I become the laughing-stock of the women."
- (52) The dashing Karaéng Bonto Sunggu
 addressed himself to the Sultan of Tallo':
 "Let me be the spearhead of our forces
 and storm the ranks of the Dutch and Bugis."
- (53) Declared the young Karaéng Ballo'
 before his elder (half-)brother, the Sultan:
 "If it's no more than Bugis and Dutch,
 here I am - I await your orders."
- (54) Karaéng Sanraboné declared,
 drawing his freshly whetted cutlass:
 "If it's only the Soppéng and Bone folk we have to
 deal with,
 plus some Sula and Borneo people."
- (55) If they propose to pay us a visit,
 I'll give them something to chew on.
 If God grant it,
 I'll smack their cursed faces."
- (56) Came the turn of the noble Karaéng Mandallé'.
 He bounded forward, drawing his cutlass,
 shouting, as he leapt about:
 "Your Highness can send me anywhere."

- (57) Karaéng Mamu was there, of unquestioned courage. In his forthright way he declared:
"If I should encounter the enemy,
wherever it may be, I'll smash him to pieces."
- (58) Daéng Mabéla, young and level-headed, putting his turban over his shoulder, declared:
"With the blessing of Almighty God
I too shall face the enemy without a qualm."
- (59) Declared the noble Daéng Mangappé', tears starting to his eyes:
"I, who owe you so much kindness,
would rather die than run away."
- (60) Daéng ri Boko, the Chief Shahbandar, declared before the two Sultans:
"As long as I still have life in my body
I too must not be kept out of it."
- (61) The Deputy Shahbandar, renowned for his wisdom viewed before the Sultan:
"If the enemy come ashore at Mangallakana,
you'll see, we'll have some fun there."
- (62) The Dato' Maharaja Léla gave his assurance:
"Whatever Your Highness commands, I am at your service.
It's only the Bugis and Dutch -
Christians - with some Bone and Sula folk."
- (63) Said the Dato' Sri Amar di Raja:
"I am entirely at your service.
You may command me anything
for I will never desert Your Highness!"
- (64) The young members of the royal entourage declared that their one wish was to fight the Dutch. Fierce as Garudas they looked, all of them related to the Sultan.

- (65) There were hundreds of the bravest warriors, in the service of our noble ruler: "With your Highness' blessing", they said, "We swear to resist the enemy."
- (66) After all those present had given assurances, they resumed their normal places in the audience-hall. High and low, all were determined, encouraged by the declarations made by the noblemen.
- (67) When the council was at an end, Enche' Amin was summoned to draw up a letter. It was well composed and contained no mistakes; it was concisely worded, without any flourishes.
- (68) This Enche' Amin was a clever fellow, of rather small stature but well built. The eagle-wood scent that he always used made his body give out a fragrant odour.
- (69) Enche' Amin was a man to be envied, by birth, a Malay of Marassarese descent; graceful and attractive in his movements, like the curling shoots of the angsoka tree.
- (70) When a summary letter had been drafted it was entrusted to one of the court officials; he was told to take it to the Dutch and ask them their intentions.
- (71) The summary letter was received by an official called Jabbar. Jabbar made obeisance to the Sultan and went on his way, plucking at his kris.
- (72) The interpreter, as he had been commanded, got into a boat and was rowed out to where the Dutch fleet was anchored. The boat was then made fast.

- (73) The overbearing Christian Admiral ordered all kris's to be given up. Raja Palakka, rather embarrassed, broke in: "It is customary for people here to retain their kris
- (74) Jabbar sat next to the Dutch commander; he took the letter and handed it over. Their interpreter came to read it out to the assembled officers.
- (75) When Speelman heard the contents of the letter and realized that war was threatened, he gazed around him and bowed his head in thought for a while.
- (76) In an aside to Jabbar, Palakka said: "I'll seize everything there is, Bima and Dompou too, I shan't overlook. My blood boils when I remember what happened."
- (77) Jabbar answered politely "It is the will of God that you have suffered as you have; no one is forced to leave his home."
- (78) A shrewd fellow was Jabbar. He spent a whole day on board the ship; he would have run amuck if he hadn't thought he might regret it later. So he restrained himself, commending his soul to God.
- (79) That damned, infidel, greedy Admiral spoke of beginning a bombardment. He ordered a boat to put it towards the shore; it stood off near the Garassi' coast.
- (80) One of the Dutchmen came ashore just by Ujong Karang. The boat's crew waited some time for him but he didn't come back, so they rowed back to the ship.

- (81) He was taken along the shore
and brought to the palace.
Out came the Daéngs, fighters all
and a great crowd began to assemble.
- (82) A west wind began to blow.
Those waiting upon the Sultan began to fidget.
The infidel's letter was to be read out,
in accordance with the Sultan's command.
- (83) The Hollanders' letter was read out as ordered,
an insolent missive, full of lies.
The Sultan's face grew grim
and he glanced at the young King of Tallo'.
- (84) After a few minutes
His Highness left the audience-hall and went into
his private apartment saying:
What these damned Dutch want
is for us to bow the knee."
- (85) The sun went down and the moon came up,
The Dutch envoy went back to the guardroom.
He was kept there the whole night
and sent back early next morning.
- (86) The fiendish Dutch, in their cunning way,
sent a small rowing boat to fetch their envoy.
We made him embark at the Garassi' landing-stage
to avoid unnecessary contamination.
- (87) When he arrived close to the gangway
he went on board to see the treacherous commander.
Raising his hat, he transmitted the message,
saying that Macassar would not agree to the Dutch terms.
- (88) The admiral, as fierce as ever, said:
"Have their envoy sent back.
We must begin the bombardment now.
I wonder how Buton is faring?"

- (89) When our envoy heard these words
he felt as though his dream had come true.
He returned, unharmed,
to have audience with our mighty Sultan.
- (90) Said the Sultan to Jabbar:
"Come here my man and tell me
what the Dutch infidels intend.
We have already had their envoy sent back."
- (91) The envoy reported to the Sultan
what it was that the Dutch wanted.
"You are to comply with all their wishes;
they wish to make a reasonable settlement."
- (92) The Dutch are as white as soap.
Every night they sleep on the bare ground
because they're used to it, apparently.
Well, they sailed off to Buton.
- (93) All their ships had canvas sails.
They stopped at many outlying settlements
where the Dutch, outright infidels, went ashore
to take coconuts and other fruit.
- (94) The Dutch and Bugis are really treacherous.
They descended upon the villages in full strength
and went on raiding expeditions,
burning several houses.
- (95) Palakka went ashore at Bonthain
and was wounded in the thigh by a spear-thrust.
He had to be helped back to the ship, hobbling along
followed by a crowd of Bugis.
- (96) When the Admiral saw that Palakka had been wounded
he was rather upset.
As soon as Palakka reached him, he told him to bare
his thigh
and had the wound dressed.

- (97) When all the noise and shouting had died down the fleet hoisted sail. A strong westerly breeze blew up and the ships raced each other to Buton.
- (98) At last the fleet anchored off Buton. They fired off their guns making a terrible din. For three days there was no let-up, by day or by night whatever was hit was smashed to pieces.
- (99) When the Macassar forces saw the fleet arrive Karaeng Bonto Marannu's heart sank. Karaeng Patte'ne', the perfect soldier, set about providing supplies of muskets, spears and swords.
- (100) Early next morning the thievish Dutch and Bugis landed. Karaeng Patte'ne' it was who took the field against them and fighting went on till mid-day.
- (101) The Bugis soon broke and ran, fleeing in utter confusion; hither and thither they ran, not a man standing his ground.
- (102) Karaeng Patte'ne' was a splendid fighter; he attacked the enemy along the sea-shore. All his retainers wore chain-mail. His attack took him as far as the river bank.
- (103) The Dutch commander was using his artillery and Karaeng Patte'ne' was hit in the chest; no damage was done however - a sure sign that God was on his side.
- (104) Karaeng Patte'ne' was a shrewd leader; he ordered his troops to advance to the attack. He did not tremble before the fire from the Dutch cannon, for his dearest wish was to fight against the infidels.

- (105) When the Dutch saw that Karaéng did not flinch,
they started firing chain-shot
and succeeded in hitting him in the forehead and in
the cheek.
He fell down and rolled over.
- (106) Karaéng Tomponga saw what had happened
and ordered his father to be taken back in a litter.
His retainers lifted him on to the litter and bore
him away
and his spirit was received into the Mercy of God.
- (107) Karaéng Pattedé'né was buried
and dismay spread through the Macassar ranks;
excited shouting filled the air
and it was impossible to sleep, by night or by day.
- (108) Karaéng Bonto Marannu proved himself a wise leader.
Seeing that his forces were exhausted,
with his face streaming with tears,
he ordered the white flag to be hoisted.
- (109) When the Dutch saw the white flag hoisted
Palakka and the Admiral felt greatly relieved.
"This time the victory is ours;
the Macassarese and Mandarese are worn out."
- (110) Orders were given to send away a boat.
It made for the shore and came alongside the landing-
stage.
Karaéng Bonto Marannu was summoned
and told to collect all weapons.
- (111) Karaéng Bonto Marannu went on board.
The Admiral invited him to sit down.
"Hey, Karaéng, don't be so downcast.
Go and sit with Raja Palakka!"
- (112) The treacherous Admiral began to flatter
Karaéng Bonto Marannu, whose spirits began to rise.
He forgot the torments Hell has in store for the
guilty
and, through his stupidity, acted like a blackguard.

- (113) The Mara'dia of Mandar refused to do as Karaéng Bonto Marannu ordered and went back, closing the entrance to the stockade. "Those damned Bugis, those lying Dutchmen, we must, of course, resist them."
- (114) Karaéng Bonto Marannu went ashore to collect his troops' weapons; all those with a kris were ordered to be bound and many Macassarese were cut down.
- (115) All the Rajas had their kris's taken from them. They were silent; there was no weeping. It was a vile idea not fit to be spoken of in public.
- (116) When all the weapons had been collected the Mandar leader still refused to obey orders: "Never mind those lying Dutchmen; if they want to do anything about it, we're ready for them."
- (117) Karaéng Bonto Marannu was greatly disturbed and returned to the ship with the weapons; to the Admiral he said: "Leave the Mandarese to me."
- (118) The Butonese - maize-worshippers - descended upon the Macassarese, cutting and slashing. Without the spiritual aid of their ancestors Rajas and ministers would have been cut down.
- (119) Those swinish Butonese - yam-worshippers - were heedless of the Prophet's injunctions. Although they do not eat pig's flesh, their clothes ape the Christian style.
- (120) Raja Bala(ng)nipa gave orders to repair any broken cars; all his men assembled as commanded, awaiting their Raja's instructions.

- (121) He waited until God sent a favourable sign
and then put out to sea.
.....
.....
- (122) The Mara' dia is a renowned Raja;
he put to sea to the music of the fife and drum,
his kris and cutlass stuck in his belt
and each of his men had a musket.
- (123) There was some talk of pursuing them but Palakka for-
bade it.
"Let the Mandarese go back home", he said.
Always a lover of bluster he exclaimed:
"That cursed fiend of a Mandarese!"
- (124) The Mandar Raja was a tough man;
within twenty-four hours he had got away.
Orders were given to seize everything that had been
left behind:
'if that's the way they vent their spite, they'll
have to pay for it.'
- (125) As for the Macassarese, Bimanese and Sumbawa men,
none of them felt inclined to laugh.
So great was their respect for their commander
that they didn't even take a knife with them.
- (126) Such was the character of the accursed Dutch and
Bugis
that many Macassarese were cast away on an island.
One day God will vent his anger upon you
and leave you groping about in Hell.
- (127) Said the Butonese leader - may God curse him -
seizing his single edged chopper:
"If God grant it me
Sombaopu and Tallo' shall be wiped out!"
- (128) At this, Karaéng Tomponga was very annoyed
and started to his feet, intending to lash out.
He was held back by cooler heads;
his one desire was to let loose a flood of invective.

- (129) "With the blessing of the Sultan's divine majesty
 (129) "With the blessing of the Sultan's divine majesty
 no harm will come to Macassar;
 God will grant him victory over the infidels
 and there we shall have our revenge."
- (130) The Raja of Luwu' had his say:
 "You lying Buton dogs!
 If God preserve our spiritual leader,
 we shall have the pleasure of splitting your heads
 open."
- (131) When all had had their say
 the lapsed into a despairing silence.
 One and all, they offered up prayers,
 asking God to come to their aid.
- (132) Said the fierce Raja Palakka:
 "We'd better send someone back.
 Have some of the prisoners taken back,
 to show we've fought a successful battle."
- (133) The Japara Captain broke in'
 "We'd best hold a council-of-war.
 We're in no trouble at the moment
 and we can make detailed plans."
- (134) Captain Dupon answered:
 "Let the men be summoned from the Moluccas and
 Amboina.
 We've been a long time on Buton
 and I'm told we are out of rice."
- (135) The captives were split up
 and some of them were sent back to Jakatra.
 The Butonese jeered as they sailed away -
 they'll pay for it one day, though.
- (136) After their forces had been divided,
 the fleet sailed off through the straits of Buton,
 steering its way through the reefs
 until it finally hove to off the Ternate coast.

- (137) The Ternateans saw the fleet arrive and assembled their forces. They hoisted their striped flags and fired off cannons and muskets.
- (138) The Captain went ashore (the drums beat as the latter was escorted in procession) He approached the Raja of Ternate and, raising his hat, held out his hand.
- (139) Politely the Captain said:
"The Admiral is waiting at Buton. Upon our return from Amboina we shall probably attack Macassar."
- (140) Jawa Kelana Kaichili' Mandarshah, felt a little uneasy; he sat and pondered, but he had already committed himself.
- (141) After the council-of-war had arrived at its decisions the drums were beaten and the troops assembled. A letter was sent off to Amboina telling Captain Joncker to set out.
- (142) While the Council had been deliberating some of the men were repairing their korra-korras. The Raja of Ternate has no equal; he had all his men out on guard.
- (143) Some of them set to work repairing the ships; day and night the work of caulking went on. The women were preparing supplies of food using powdered chillis for the sambal.
- (144) Listen, sirs, while I venture to pay homage to our most magnificent ruler, perfect in wisdom and understanding, who has attained to the leadership of the most esoteric brotherhood.

- (145) By the grace of God and the intercession of the Prophet
 he is the spiritual ruler of both states.
 The beloved of God and the Prophet,
 there is prosperity and happiness in both his realms.
- (146) Lord of the world, monarch most just,
 ruler spiritual and temporal, utterly perfect,
 a saint, in perfect union with God,
 both wise and accomplished.
- (147) By the grace of God, our divine Creator,
 whose glory illuminates both worlds,
 and whose community is numerous, filling the world,
 whose lot is continual happiness and prosperity.
- (148) A most daring prince is the Sultan,
 resolved to fight the accursed Dutch.
 Of Minangkabau descent,
 his appearance is really imposing.
- (149) Listen, friends and companions,
 while I speak of the misguided Bugis,
 They allied themselves to the Dutch,
 but one day they will come to an untimely end.
- (150) Listen to the tale of the Bugis Patambirang.
 When the men of Bone returned seeking vengeance
 the chiefs took counsel together
 and decided that they had better inform the Sultan.
- (151) Patambirang was a fighter.
 He set off that same day.
 He had audience with our noble ruler
 and told him the almost unbelievable news.
- (152) When the Sultan heard the news
 he ordered his brother ruler to be sent for,
 the young Sultan of Tallo'.
 He came and had audience with his 'elder brother'.

- (153) The King of Tallo' entered the audience-hall and sat down,
doing homage as he did so.
"Your Highness need fear no disquiet.
Let me go to Boné."
- (154) The royal drum and the war-drums were beaten.
The King of Tallo' made some defiant passes.
To his brother, the Sultan, he declared:
"I shall invade Boné."
- (155) All the royal warriors,
looking as fierce as tigers,
declared to the Sultan:
"We shall attack Boné in grim earnest."
- (156) The handsome King of Tallo'
swore that he would attack the Bugis.
All his listeners were moved to tears
and cursed the devilish Bugis.
- (157) Hearing his younger brother's declaration,
the Sultan was extremely pleased;
he ordered the young warriors to assemble
ready to escort the young King.
- (158) In less than no time the council-of-war was over
and the King of Tallo' went back to his palace to rest.
The troops who had assembled
waited only the royal command to set out.
- (159) A few days later
The King set out at an auspicious moment.
Obviously destined to accomplish great things,
he was borne in procession to the sound of the fife
and trumpet.
- (160) The drums were beaten and the fifes shrilled.
The captains marched off, a great host of them
the bodyguard followed behind, waiting on the King
who was borne along like a bridegroom.

- (161) The ship the King of Tallo' was to sail in
was carved in a pattern of drifting clouds and
curving lotus leaves.
The King had his quarters in the "Flowery Column",
waited on by his ministers, men of intoxicating
eloquence.
- (162) The ship was of the type called "pélang",
carved in fretted lines,
stamped with sparkling gold leaf
so that it glittered and shone in dazzling fashion.
- (163) Its beauty was indescribable;
it looked as if it had come down from heaven.
Encountering it at sea
one would think it to be some monstrous animal.
- (164) It took two hundred and sixty oarsmen to row the ship
and the oars were gold-mounted;
they shone like so many torches.
The cheering and shouting was deafening.
- (165) Each lord had his own vessel
which was well armed.
They were all of them overjoyed
and their shouts rent the air.
- (166) The expedition disembarked at Maros and marched off,
each man striving to be first
for their one desire was to meet the foe;
that would be the place for the brave man to fight.
- (167) They were not long on the march
before they encountered the enemy at Maros.
The Bugis, renowned for treachery,
together with the Raja of Mampu.
- (168) The battle did not take long;
the Bugis fled, with the Macassarese after them.
Women and children were sent flying
in the flight of that arch-coward, the Raja of Mampu.

- (169) The Bugis fled up the hill
clutching to their head their rations and blowpipes
Some were in tears, some were crying out,
while others were shrieking in terror, trembling in
every limb.
- (170) Not one of them could hold his own,
young and old alike fled to the caves.
Shame and ignominy was their lot
causing people to laugh derisively.
- (171) The King of Tallo' was exceedingly angry
and ordered the old Bugis leader to be executed,
for he had been guilty of flagrant treachery
in rebelling against the Sultan.
- (172) Making obeisance, the Raja of Mampu approached,
asking forgiveness for the wrong he had done.
"Let bygones be bygones", he said,
placing the Koran on his head and swearing loyalty.
- (173) The witty Shahbandar asked:
"That makes how many times you've taken the oath of
loyalty?"
Making obeisance, the Raja of Mampu said:
"Twice, so far, Your Highness."
- (174) The King's entourage roared with laughter
at the words of the old Bugis.
His capacity for eating his own words is only
equalled by a python -
swallowing down boiled tubers cooked in Javanese
fashion.
- (175) When they had finished joking,
the King moved on to Patiro
the rain came beating down
and to shelter from it they wore their 'tjilo-tjilo'.
- (176) Karaeng Bonto Marannu was in the van,
a noted leader
and an outstanding warrior, ever alert,
a son of the late prince, of right noble descent.

- (177) Karaéng Léngkése' was a fierce fighter.
No sooner did he encounter the enemy than he set to.
The Bugis fled across the river
like so many pigs frightened of a bear.
- (178) Daéng Mangapé' commanded the right flank.
He liked nothing so much as fighting.
He regarded the enemy as a bear regards his victims
and took a great many prisoners.
- (179) Daéng Maruppa commanded the left flank.
The son of an illustrious prince,
he didn't know the word "retreat",
and he took up his position by his standard.
- (180) The King himself commanded the main body of the army,
like unto a strong citadel.
Yelling and shouting at the top of his voice,
he struck terror into the heart of the foe.
- (181) Karaéng Tomponga led the rear-guard,
a most renowned prince,
who would never shrink from the fray.
Kaichili' Kalamata too, was with him.
- (182) This latter was a well-known prince,
expert in the art of war.
His standard was a red, striped one
begrimed with the smoke of the muskets.
- (183) The Bugis fled in droves,
head over heels, without any semblance of order.
Servants no longer recognized their masters
and many were taken prisoner.
- (184) When His Highness the Sultan heard
that Bone had been crushed
and that all the captives had acknowledged him as
their overlord,
placing the Koran on their head and swearing loyalty.

- (185) His Highness was very pleased
and sent an envoy to greet his younger brother.
The envoy bore presents of gold-patterned chintz
and carried news of the doings of the Dutch.
- (186) The Sultan's envoy set off without delay
and within a few days
had reached the camp of the illustrious young King;
fingers pressed together, he did homage.
- (187) Said the Daéng to the King:
"Your Highness, the Sultan has sent me to greet you
and ask you to return.
Thanks to Your Highness' divine grace
the enemy has been struck a hard blow.
- (188) The King was extremely pleased
to hear what had happened to the Dutch.
He called together his young warriors
and they all mounted to horse.
- (189) The King of Tallo' set off back to Gowa.
The journey did not take long.
In the dappling rays of the sun,
his olive complexion shone.
- (190) I have not yet finished my account.
The King's party stopped to rest in each of the
forests they came to.
Their hunting expeditions were very successful
and the King was well pleased.
- (191) The King arrived at the Maros landing-stage
where his vessel was waiting just off-shore.
There were very many 'pakur' and 'pélang'
awaiting the King in his majesty.
- (192) When the King's vessel came in sight of Gowa,
the guns in the fort fired off a salvo.
The cannons boomed out
making noise enough to shake every limb in one's body.

- (193) The Dato' Maharaja Léla, a true warrior,
had had flags erected all along the bank.
The English, infidels but gentlemanly infidels
fired off their cannon and the smoke went curling
upwards.
- (194) As for the gentlemen of quality,
clouds of smoke came from their muskets
as they fired off a salute to the noble King
that was symbolic of their willingness to fight.
- (195) There was an assembly of vessels large and small
Some of them went up the Garassi' river
.....
.....
- (196) The Sultan of Gowa, that most renowned monarch,
went to welcome his brother on his arrival;
followed by ministers and captains,
the royal procession moved to the sound of the fife
and drum.
- (197) The young King of Tallo'
did homage to his royal brother.
He was embraced and kissed by the Sultan,
after which they both mounted their horses.
- (198) They rode off, followed by their ministers and
captains
and a great host of soldiers marched behind them.
It was a noble sight for the populace
to see a prince of such unquestioned valour.
- (199) His Highness made his way back
and he and his brother went into the palace.
They sat upon the royal dais,
waited upon by their various ministers.
- (200) The young King was presented with a gift of raiment,
the choicest cloths from the regions to the West,
glittering as though they were made of glass;
he looked as handsome as a bridegroom.

- (201) When the King had donned his new robes
it was the turn of the other princes to receive their
gifts;
first a head-dress, then a 'kain',
a kris and a cutlass, together with a ring.
- (202) All the nobles who waited upon the Sultan
were given a complete set of gifts,
and when all the Karaéngs were composed once more,
the food was brought in and they were told to set to.
- (203) The banquet took its measured course,
and prayers for salvation were offered up
to the prophets and saints with supernatural powers,
for it is with their intercession that divine
favour is obtained.
- (204) When the lying infidels arrived at Macassar,
I was still outside the fort.
I heard various accounts of what ensued
and upon these I have based my narrative.
- (205) If the composition should prove to be faulty,
please don't condemn the writer;
we are but human
and only God can preserve us from error.
- (206) I hope you will fill in any gaps in my narrative
without cursing me for the omissions,
in fact, make all the alterations you can,
if necessary writing whole stacks of books.
- (207) The Dutch sailed away from Buton
together with the Bugis and Ambonese.
According to reports, they had a very large force
(the sails of their ships were as white as soap).
- (208) Raja Palakka disembarked at Patiro
and got together a force of Bugis wearing their
'tjilo-tjilo'.
There was alarm and considerable anxiety
because their chief had come to stir them up.

- (209) In less than no time, with barely a word spoken, the Bugis were awed into obedience. They did homage to their ruler bowing their heads in frightened respect.
- (210) The Dutch arrived at Bonthain with their fleet, the infidel dogs. They had supplies of weapons ready - swords, spears, muskets, swivel-guns and heavy cannon.
- (211) The noise of the flutes and drums rent the air. There were swords, cutlasses, spears and sabres, muskets too, one for each man - they were very much on the alert.
- (212) They bore themselves like hawks, making passes with a kris, a spear or a sword. Their morale was very high and they displayed not the least sign of fear.
- (213) They saw to it that they were constantly on the alert, for the Bugis were apt to be rather reckless. There were the Dutch too, vile infidels and the Butonese were nothing better than traitors.
- (214) I won't prolong the story unnecessarily and I'm not going to tell you lies. The defeat of our troops resulted in the outright storming of our stockade.
- (215) Within a few days the garrison at Bonthain had fled; they sought refuge where they could. They were in utter confusion, each man thinking only of himself.
- (216) It was Karaéng Bonto Majannang who led our troops; he had a large force at his disposal, fierce fighters. They attacked the enemy with their kris, spears and swords but lost heavily in the fighting.

- (217) Such is the fortune of war;
now one side wins, now the other.
Some of our troops got back to Sombaopu
and had audience with our consecrated ruler.
- (218) When the Sultan heard the news
of the panic that had overtaken our forces at
Bonthain,
and of the behaviour of the high and mighty Bugis
in collaboration with the Dutch,
- (219) The Sultan, resplendent, gave orders
for the war-drums to be beaten
All the young noblemen of Macassar declared their
readiness to do their duty,
as they drew their kris and stamped their feet in
defiance.
- (220) The Dutch sailed off from Bonthain
their white sails standing out against the horizon.
The Karaéngs saw them go
with their Butonese, Ambonese and Sula allies, the
dogs.
- (221) The fleet then veered in towards the shore
(those Ambonese and Butonese infidels!).
Our people crowded to see them;
not a man trembled or was dismayed.
- (222) The King of Ternaté showed his daring
by rowing close to the shore.
He was wearing a turban and had on a coat of mail,
and his boat went at an unparalleled speed.
- (223) All the gentlemen of quality were greatly excited
and went to have audience with the King.
After paying homage, they declared their willingness
to fight,
to attack the filthy Butonese.
- (224) The perfidious infidels sailed off
making for our main defences and the fort.
It was Palakka and the Admiral's idea
to take the fort by storm.

- (225) The Sultan went out to Ujong Pandang in procession with the drums and fifes playing. He was accompanied by his ministers and officers and the long procession was bristling with weapons.
- (226) The Sultan proved himself a perfect ruler, one defeat was quite enough. He gave the most detailed instructions to ensure that everything would turn out well.
- (227) It was not long before the Sultan set off back, followed by his retinue and his ministers. It was then mid-day and the people with him fairly ran along.
- (228) The Sultan arrived inside the fortifications and, once inside the palace, ascended the royal dais. He discussed with his ministers the palpable treachery of the Dutch.
- (229) The news spread quickly -
I talked about it with a Minangkabauer
All our posts were suitably armed
and the damned Dutch and Bugis did likewise.
- (230) A few days later
the Dutch fleet anchored in the roads.
The Admiral sent an envoy to the Sultan
asking permission to purchase various items.
- (231) The Admiral's envoy was an insolent Bandanese, jabbering and squawking away. He was chased back to his ship in a trice without being given time to answer back.
- (232) A fitting servant for the Admiral!
A handsome face and an empty head.
He gave himself the airs of a sheriff's officer
but back he went to the ship.

- (233) As soon as he saw Speelman
he exclaimed, stretching out his hands:
"Your Highness, Admiral, O my most noble master,
I've been chased like a hunted stag!"
- (234) When I gave them your Highness' letter
they all roared with laughter.
They sat there making fun of me,
smiling and laughing the whole time."
- (235) The Admiral, listening, laughed
to hear the Bandanese using Javanese words:
"It was your own silly fault,
that the Macassarese laughed at you."
- (236) The hot-tempered Captain Joncker
who had been sitting listening restlessly burst in:
"The great lout is an absolute coward."
To the envoy he said: "It's because you're
frightened -
- (237) Swelling out your nose like a heron's beak,
your eyes staring like a hog's,
you can sit there with your legs crossed
but if anyone speaks to you, you hide your face.
- (238) Giving yourself the airs of a great lord,
why, you can't even speak properly.
What's the good of your wearing a man's scarf?
You're only fit for eating dollops of gruel, like a
child."
- (239) To conclude the incident of this stupid hind,
the envoy spoke absolute gibberish.
After being insulted in a most overbearing manner,
he was given a cup of arrack by way of consolation.
- (240) To resume the story of the men of Macassar,
after the infidels' envoy had returned to the ship,
the Sultan of Gowa gave orders
for our defences to be overhauled.

- (241) "You leaders of the Malay community,"
What do you consider our best plan?
We'd better bring in all the womenfolk inside the
fort
to leave our hands free for fighting."
- (242) Said the Sultan's officers:
"There is no need for Your Highness to feel ill at
ease.
When trouble threatens, by day or night,
have all the main gates of the fort closed."
- (243) Said the Sultan:
"We had better place cannon along the ramparts.
We must be always on our guard,
for these infidels are very treacherous."
- (244) There was constant excitement by day and night
and cannon were placed all along the ramparts.
Some of them set to work repairing armaments
and great vigilance was shown by all.
- (245) The people who lived outside the fort
had a hectic time shifting their belongings.
Some were silent while others chattered away
but not one was really downhearted.
- (246) As day was beginning to dawn,
the officers put on their equipment.
Their weapons included spears and swords
and a great host of soldiers assembled.
- (247) About the time of the morning prayer
the warriors began to dress themselves up.
They went up on the battlements of their sturdy fort
and saw where the enemy's fleet was anchored.
- (248) When it was full daylight
they fired off the cannon known as "Macassar's Glory";
the flames shot out like blazing rays of the sun and
moon combined,
striking terror into the hearts of the Dutch and Bugis.

- (249) The noise it made was like a thunderbolt splitting
a hill
and one of the infidels' ships was hit.
The cannon-ball went straight through one side of
the ship and out the other side;
scores of heads were broken.
- (250) They then fired off the cannon called "The Guardian"
and the flames were like lightning playing on a
mountain.
The explosion made a deafening boom
and one of the silly infidels' ships was hit.
- (251) Swords and helmets were sent flying
and crowds of them rushed into the hold for shelter.
We then fired off the cannon called "Growler".
One of their ships was damaged and heeled over.
- (252) Some of them cut themselves on their swords
and the Bugis went dashing around wildly.
.....
.....
- (253) The "Iron Smiter" was then fired off
and its shot went whizzing through the stern,
almost hitting one of their officers.
The devilish Dutchmen were really aghast.
- (254) The "Ship Marker" was then fired off
and one of the stupid infidels' ships was hit.
Many of the enemy had their heads broken
and were smashed to pieces.
- (255) There was one big cannon in Kampong China.
The first time it was fired, one of the ships was hit;
and so it went on, one blow after another,
till the Admiral became really worried.
- (256) But he knew how to bide his time
and endured the Macassar bombardment
without feeling the least bit upset.
He then ordered his cannon to be primed and had them
trained on Macassar.

- (257) The Macassar bombardment had been going on for
about an hour
before the Dutch replied.
Their cannon made a deafening roar
as the shot crashed into the city.
- (258) The lying infidels were thoroughly aroused
and directed their fire at the palace and the fort;
their shots came in a steady stream
but no one was hit.
- (259) When the Japara Captain
saw that Speelman was in difficulties
he drew up the ships and the korra-korras
and conducted the bombardment in a methodical fashion.
- (260) Captain Dupon showed himself a very cool hand,
directing the fire with his spy-glass.
His shots went whistling through the air
but hit only a waringin tree.
- (261) The infidels were furious
and directed their fire on the palace,
but due to the royal divinity of our victorious
Sultan
the only thing that was hit was a ramshackle house.
- (262) Listen to the story of the English Factors,
- men with razor-sharp minds.
Although of course overbearing infidels,
they were honest men, unwavering in their determination
- (263) One of them was called Mr. Bale
and proved himself to be a really expert artilleryman.
He fired at the greedy Admiral's ship
and almost succeeded in sinking one of the smaller
craft.
- (264) Another of the Agents was called Mr. Pearle,
he was the deputy chief of the factory.
He too showed his skill as an artilleryman
and fired at the sailing-ships and the smaller
vessels.

- (265) The Agents had been in Macassar a long time. In all they commanded some twenty cannon. Many of the enemy's ships were hit and holed, to the great annoyance of the Admiral.
- (266) Enche' Maris, a leading member of the Malay community, fired off his cannon without a break. Sailing-ships, korra-korras and galleys were hit and many of the wretched Christians were killed.
- (267) He went on firing without cease and the shots came in one continuous stream. Many Bugis and Dutch were killed as the Admiral saw in sorrow.
- (268) Thirty times he fired and not once did he miss. He used up two jars of powder and gave instructions to buy more.
- (269) Dato' Pasar was a well-known figure, he was there with the rest of the Malay community. From the earliest times he had lived in Macassar.
- (270) He and his two twin brothers, where was the foe to match them? Despite the booming of the Dutch cannon shots as they fell all round them, 'fear' was a word unknown to them.
- (271) Sri Amar diRaja, a warrior of Cham origin, was a stout fighter and an ascetic. Although with only a few soldiers, as soon as he saw the enemy his one desire was to hurl himself upon them.
- (272) The perfect warrior indeed, of wide-spread renown; he no sooner saw the Bugis and the Christian Dutch than his rage boiled over.

- (273) Enche' Jabbar, Sri Amar diRaja's son-in-law, was not the sort of man to be ignored. Whatever orders were given to him he would never be guilty of disloyalty.
- (274) A splendid fellow and a very politic speaker. Honest and trustworthy to his friends, and a man of some substance.
- (275) The entire Malay community had formed themselves into a separate company. Well-equipped with weapons, they awaited the coming of the damned Hollanders.
- (276) Another company was made up of men from Majannang, with their commanding officer, the Dato' Lalenang, always heartening and encouraging his men - he deserves to be remembered.
- (277) All his company were well equipped. He had a good many Bima and Sumbawa slaves with him who were in the best of spirits and quite prepared to risk their lives.
- (278) The noble Sultan gave orders for the cannon called "Dawn Lightning" to be fired. It boomed away with a noise like thunder, shaking the composure of the Bugis and Ambonese.
- (279) After that, the cannon called "Monster" was fired off, its shots hitting the ships and korra-korras. The Dutch and Bugis discussed their next move with Captain Joncker.
- (280) Towards evening the cannon called "Flowery" was fired off. The flames from its barrel flashed brightly and its shot killed several of the enemy.

- (281) The Dutch fleet stood off towards the sea firing its guns as it did so. They roasted the unclean carcasses of several chickens; some took part in the feast, others sat silent.
- (282) The Sultan lost no time in sending presents - a suit of clothes to all those who had taken part in the bombardment. This was to win the hearts of the poor and needy and to keep their mind on the task before them.
- (283) Next day, at sun-rise the Dutch ships came in towards the coast. The cannon in the town began firing making a deafening noise.
- (284) The Dutch commander ordered his entire fleet to bear down. They approached, covered in smoke from their cannon, and their shots came hurtling into the town one after another.
- (285) When the Dutch cannon ceased firing, the Macassarese fired off their cannon called "North-Wester". The Dutch were frightened and put out to sea when they saw the hail of shots directed at them.
- (286) The Macassarese admiral gave instructions for the cannon called "Palace Glory" to be fired; the noise it made was deafening and some Dutch and Bugis were hit.
- (287) The cannon in the Dutch warships opened up making a noise like thunder. The shots came whirring in and the Macassarese shouted and yelled.
- (288) The ships stood off and put about so as to give the town another broadside. Pandemonium reigned in Macassar to the joy of the Bugis and the thievish Butonese.

- (289) Captain Joncker's ship approached
directing a most accurate fire upon the town.
Shots fell thick and fast
and to add to the din, the drums were beating all
the time.
- (290) And so it went on, day after day,
as the Macassarese fought the thievish Hollanders.
Their cannons were aimed at the heart of the city
but not a man flinched.
- (291) A long life to you, sir,
health and prosperity to you,
may happiness and security be yours -
perhaps you could spare a drop of water?
- (292) Hear what I have to say, sir,
and don't forget your story-teller.
God grant we may meet again one day,
and wherever it may be I will pay my respects to you.
- (293) Enche' Maris was a well-known figure,
tall and slim but broad-chested;
armed with a spear and a sword,
he bore himself like a raging tiger.
- (294) A perfect gentleman was he,
his one thought to fight the enemy.
At the sight of the Dutch and the brutish Bugis
he could no longer contain his anger.
- (295) One fine division came from Maros
under the command of Karaeng Lengkésé.
A capable and savage fighter,
he was resolved to fight the enemy.
- (296) Said the warriors:
"Don't let's be down-hearted,
let's stiffen up our sinews
and see that the cannon on the ramparts are ready
for action."

- (297) The warriors assembled at Ujong Pandang
gazed joyfully at the scene before them.
Deafening was the noise of the fifes and drums,
while the swordsmen made passes with their weapons.
- (298)
.....
When darkness fell
(The Dutch had) a council-of-war in secret.
- (299) Their minds were not absolutely made up
but it was decided to make a landing at Batu-Batu.
Should they be able to establish themselves ashore,
victory or defeat would be decided there.
- (300) A few days later
the Admiral summoned his officers for a council.
"We shall make our landing tomorrow.
Let us have no fear or hesitation."
- (301) When morning came
the Dutch landed at Batu-Batu
together with the Bugis, Moluccans and the fiendish
Butonese,
each man armed with a musket.
- (302) No sooner had the Dutch reached the shore
when they encountered the Macassarese and fierce
fighting broke out.
The Macassarese charged them tempestuously,
until finally the infidels had to run away.
- (303) As I heard the story,
the Dutch, Moluccans and Ambonese took to their
heels.
The Butonese were shaking with fear, their faces
blanched,
as they dived into the salt sea.
- (304) They ran away in complete confusion
some of them were killed, their bodies stretched out
on the ground.
The Macassarese seized hold of their heads
and cut their throats with their swords.

- (305) I have not yet finished my story;
the Dutch troops broke and ran
not a man standing his ground.
The Butonese were shaking with fear.
- (306) How they fled back to the fleet! -
to the great disgust of the Admiral.
He took counsel with the Japara Captain
and they tried to devise a successful stratagem.
- (307) The infidels showed themselves resourceful fighters.
They made a landing at Galésong.
We constructed a block-house
and directed our heavy artillery upon them.
- (308) Resourceful indeed were these infidel devils -
that's only to be expected with the swinish Dutch.
We constructed a mobile stockade
and brought our heavy guns to bear on them.
- (309) The drums thudded out their music
as some of them began to arm themselves.
The Admiral was delighted to see this,
and ordered food and drink to be distributed.
- (310) All the soldiers were given presents,
first a European-type hat, and then a coat and
sarong.
"To prevent your thoughts straying,
let us have eating and drinking and feasting."
- (311) The Admiral knew how to win over
the Butonese, Moluccans and the drunken Ambonese.
Each man had a cupful of strong drink
heedless of the curse he was incurring.
- (312) News was brought to the Sultan that the Dutch had
fled
whereupon he ordered them to be pursued.
The Sultan took counsel with his generals and
ministers
in order to defeat the Christians.

- (313) The Sultan was greatly pleased with what he heard and held a public banquet at which prayers for salvation were offered up to God and the Prophet, requesting His intercession.
- (314) Next morning, when it was almost light, the Dutch came ashore at Galésong. All their ships were assembled, great and small, and it was indeed a fine sight to see.
- (315) The Sultan came out of the citadel to attack the Bugis and the thievish Dutch. The fighting went on till midday and many Bugis and Dutch were killed.
- (316) The fighting was centred around Galésong and many were the casualties borne back on a
stretcher.
A great number of the Dutch and Bugis were cut down with the Sultan looking on, seated under the royal sun-shade.
- (317) The two sides fought like sworn enemies. The King of Tallo' led the Macassarese attack. The Dutch and the Moluccans fled, seeking the shelter of their stockade.
- (318) The King of Tallo' fought with great gallantry proving indeed that his word was his bond. A tower of strength to the Sultan, he fought with great gallantry.
- (319) Kaichili' Kalamata was a fine sight. He was the brother-in-law of the King of Tallo'. "Wherever you see Palakka and his brigade let me be the first to attack them."
- (320) A few days later Kaichili' Kalamata led an assault. The fighting did not last beyond midday and Palakka, looking on, felt frightened.

- (321) The Dato' Maharaja Lela was a true man,
invulnerable to steel.
To the Sultan he said:
"Grant me the command of one of our stockades."
- (322) Said His Highness the Sultan:
"Very well, Dato', you may have it.
Have the Macassarese and your Malays
fight according to your orders."
- (323) The old warrior, the Dato' Gagah,
had audience with the Sultan of Gowa:
"I have little opinion of these Dutch and Bugis
and I have no wish to be left out of the fighting."
- (324) A gentleman called Enche' Johor
commanded the rearguard.
Not the sort of man to retreat before the enemy,
rather would he bite the dust.
- (325) Hear what orders were given, Your Highness,
and how there came to pass what God had willed.
The Dutch did not stay long there
but sailed off in their ships to Batu-Batu.
- (326) The Dutch arrived at Batu-Batu
and went ashore.
All their slaves carried choppers
and they finally arrived at the foot of the stockade.
- (327) A few days later
the Dutch stockade was completed.
It was no longer possible to devise a way to
circumvent them
and the Macassarese were unable to drive them out.
- (328) This was Dato' Adi's idea,
he'll be sorry for it one day.
.....
.....

- (329) The Sultan ordered an attack on Batu-Batu, Karaéng Jarannika it was who rallied to his support. Each of his men was armed with a kris as they came in to attack the devilish Moluccans.
- (330) Karaéng Jarannika was accompanied by the Maharaja Léla and they attacked as though possessed; it was impossible to find fault with them as they struck at the enemy repeatedly with their kris
- (331) Karaéng Jarannika said fiercely:
"Dato' Maharaja Léla, let's attack with all the men of Macassar - let's attack and drive them out."
- (332) The battle took place in the early morning. Many of the Dutch and Bugis fled. The Macassarese showed no sign of fear. The army drew off in the late afternoon.
- (333) The Dutch dead were piled one on top of the other with here and there a dead Ternatéan. All of them were wearing chain mail. A good many of the Dutch were laid low here.
- (334) One of their officers called Captain Joncker refused to retreat and ordered the ships to be drawn up. He was struck by a ball and knocked to the ground.
- (335) He called out to Palakka when they were near the Dato' Maharaja Léla's stockade. The noise of the cannon and guns was deafening, and the army was maddened by the sight.
- (336) Cornelis Speelman drew up his army in battle array: on the right wing were the savage Bugis, Ambonese and Moluccans made up the main body drawn up with their muskets and tall spears.

- (337) The thievish Butonese made up the left wing while there was a reserve of Dutch and Bugis. When they saw the Macassarese advancing to 'parley' the damned infidels broke and ran.
- (338) The Commander-in-Chief commanded the centre like unto a stout fortress. The drums were beating loudly making a thunderous noise.
- (339) One division was commanded by Captain Joncker who was in charge of the rear; his standard had a design set against a striped field and his cornets and sergeants drew up their men.
- (340) After the Sultan of Gowa had given his orders to the Malays and Macassarese, the fight began, swaying from side to side, like a powerful squall of wind.
- (341) As soon as the soldiers heard the command they took up their positions. Every man was at his post almost anticipating his general's orders.
- (342) All the soldiers of the Sultan were leaping about like tigers. Their spears and blowpipes looked like the branches of so many trees, with pennons and standards fluttering in the breeze.
- (343) The fighting was very confused. Dato' Maharaja Léla clashed with Captain Joncker. They fought until the hour of the midday prayer, while the ships drew off to sea.
- (344) There were 30 ships in all, keeping up a deafening bombardment; there was no peace by day or by night that's how the Dutch went to work - rot them!

- (345) When the Macassarese saw what was happening they at once came charging forward. The Malays too advanced, their muskets at the ready, their spears and shields forming a veritable barrier.
- (346) There was no time to form ranks the Macassarese would not be denied. They leapt forward like savage tigers; no sooner did the two armies meet than battle was joined.
- (347) At the sight of the Dutch, Karaéng Jarannika spurred his horse forward and charged. Looking like a garuda he opposed his breast to the enemy's attacks.
- (348) Karaéng Pattunga was like Gatotkacha; he bore himself like Sang Jaya Amarta. Although in command of only a small detachment, as soon as he saw the enemy his one desire was to hurl himself upon them.
- (349) The fighting was very confused; there was a veritable hail of cannonballs, and the infidels, in their overweening arrogance, had their drums beating away at full pitch.
- (350) The fighting was very heavy as both sides attacked each other in turn, swirling around like some great hurricane - that was how the Bugis and Macassarese fought.
- (351) Good for you, Malays! Brave fighters all, they attacked the division of the Butonese and the Christians, letting loose upon them a rain of musket fire, so that many of them were killed.
- (352) Both sides attacked in strength, as in the battles fought by Maharaja Boma. All the most renowned warriors were there together with Karaéng Jarannika.

- (353) Like a rogue elephant he fought
and the infidels could not hold out against him.
Very many of them were wounded
and the battle-field was shrouded in gloom.
- (354) Karaéng Mamu bore himself like Sang Samba
Dressed all in red,
he fought like an angry lion,
racing to get at the enemy.
- (355) Karaéng Bonto was like Sang Arjuna,
wearing his coat of mail;
he fought like Maharaja Rawana
as he attacked the division of the wretched Moluccans.
- (356) Daéng Marewa was like Sang Parta.
With a gold-plated scabbard for his kris,
he attacked the army of the infidels
who, like the low brutes they were, were unable to
resist him.
- (357) Daéng ri Boko, the senior Shahbandar,
was like a double-headed arrow.
Begging your worship's pardon, he had no equal,
a prince renowned for his bravery.
- (358) Daéng Mabéla, the young and steadfast
was wearing long trousers with a destar on his head.
Looking like a character from the shadow-play
he attacked the enemy two at a time.
- (359) The noise of the guns was like rice being roasted
and the blood streamed from the wounds of those who
were hit.
Some were killed, others merely exhausted,
without the energy even to turn their head.
- (360) There came a rain of darts from the blowpipes
and when anyone was hit, the poison seized hold of
him.
But, impervious to everything,
They fought on, charging to the attack.

- (361) Men thrust with their spears as though at practice, ripping and tearing each other's clothes. Some were stabbed through the breast, the weapon penetrating to the hilt, but as one man died, so another came to take his place.
- (362) Sword clashed against sword as though in jest but when the blow went home, it cleft the skull. Many were killed fighting on horseback, as one young man smashed another's head in.
- (363) Here one would stab with his kris as he seized his enemy by the waist, but death claimed them both and sent them sprawling. As though hacking at the stem of a banana tree the Macassarese cut down the enemy with their swords.
- (364) There was a deafening din and a thunderous clamour as the coward fled shrieking. The brave stayed, shouting out defiance, advancing to the attack with savage fury.
- (365) The heads of the slain were like so many marbles, lopped off by the mail-clad warriors. There was no counting the heads of the Butonese and Ternateans rolling about along the shore.
- (366) There were thirty-three Dutch heads cut off by our young warriors. They presented them to the Sultan and were rewarded with gold and a horse to boot.
- (367) The senior Shahbandar was stabbed by a spear that neatly cut away the muscles of his thigh. But even then he did not flag in his devotion to the Sultan, retiring without any fuss to the rear.
- (368) A most renowned prince, he was received by his servants and borne away. The fighting was now extremely confused; both sides were mixed up, and the noise was deafening.

- (369) When the Sultan of Gowa heard
that Daeng ri Boko had died a martyr's death,
he gave orders that he should be borne
to the cemetery inside the castle of Gowa.
- (370) There was a great to-do amongst his servants,
as they ran about beating their breasts;
they tore their hair and threw down their destar,
as they staggered around, weeping.
- (371) The Shahbandar's son came forward
hugging and kissing his father's corpse, holding
it tight.
"All the people here are ready,
waiting for you to go out and see them.
- (372) O father, take me with you,
I cannot bear to remain here, mourning you.
If only I might bear arms,
this very moment I would die in battle against the
infidels.
- (373) And so he wept bitterly.
His mother, the Shahbandar's wife had fainted away.
Weeping for the soul of the husband upon whom all
her affections had been centred,
her tears flowed copiously.
- (374) When she regained consciousness,
she pressed her head against her dead husband's feet,
her hair brushing against his breast:
"Darling, look how you are behaving."
- (375) The Shahbandar was duly buried.
The earth was levelled and flowers scattered over
the grave
while the two stones were erected at the head and
foot
I can hardly speak for grief.
- (376) The angel of Death was amongst us
and Daeng Mabéla was the next to die for his faith.
Only his headless trunk could be recovered
and this was borne back and a salute fired.

- (377) Both gravestones were placed in position
and flower petals sprinkled over the grave,
to mark the resting-place of a martyr
whose story will be handed down to posterity.
- (378) The next man to fall was the son of the Customs
Supervisor,
with a spear locked in his body;
with a musket-ball in his temple,
he dropped to the ground and rolled over.
- (379) His servants saw him fall
and he was borne away in a litter by his relatives.
Without any delay he was taken to the rear
and carried home.
- (380) Very many were the mourners.
Friends and relations came to pay their last
respects.
His mother and father came to embrace the body
which they hugged and kissed, weeping all the while.
- (381) "Ah, my son! See your mother
in confusion and distress.
Were you not the very light of my eye?
Why do you now forsake me?
- (382) Speak but one word to your mother,
open for one second these eyes, my son.
See all these people here gazing at you -
at the wounds on your blood-smeared body.
- (383) Your mother's voice is hoarse
with inviting you to come to see her;
the food is ready
and your mother, hardly knowing what to do, awaits
you.
- (384) My darling, my very life,
your mother is like a mad woman.
Where am I to go to find you?
It is difficult for your mother to contain herself."

- (385) The plot was marked out, the grave dug,
the earth scooped out and the planks squared up.
He was buried in the posture of someone just
fallen asleep,
while the two gravestones were erected, one facing
the other.
- (386) Bungaya was crowded with people
for it was there that peace negotiations began.
The Dutch, Soppéngers and Bugis gathered together,
while a great crowd of Macassarese assembled.
- (387) The negotiations had not been in progress long
when there was a general panic.
The Admiral fled head-first,
frightened of being tricked by the Macassarese.
- (388) When all had fled,
Palakka, with a start, sprang up.
The King of Ternaté was trembling with fear
darting his eyes from left to right.
- (389) Karaéng Jarannika was in attendance upon the Sultan,
and stood there facing Palakka.
Both of them were like fierce tigers.
It was Karaéng Pattunga whose actions were called in
question.
- (390) However, the affair was only a trifle,
although the infidels fled in confusion.
People in the pavilion were trodden underfoot
and some were knocked down and badly injured.
- (391) The Sultan of Gowa
sat in state, with the senior Karaéng.
Both of them smiled in amusement
to see the behaviour of the Butonese and Javanese.
- (392) All the Sultan's bodyguard
were ready at their posts.
They waited only for the word of command,
their spears and blowpipes bristling like the
branches of so many trees.

- (393) None of the Bugis, Butonese and Ternateans
had time to grab their hats;
there was no telling master from servant,
as they went crashing down in their coats of mail.
- (394) The Admiral was panting for breath
his mouth smeared with dirt like the bottom of a
cooking-pot
like a goat frightened by a lion
his ears sticking out in fright.
- (395) What a liar the Christian infidel was,
saying that he had no fear
and that he was merely taking cover!
In actual fact he was running all over the place.
- (396) Said the Sultan to Palakka:
"Go and persuade the Admiral to come back.
Tell him to come and sit down,
so that we can complete our negotiations."
- (397) And so he went, like a true diplomat,
to give the Admiral the Sultan's message:
"Now don't get annoyed, Admiral,
hadn't we better make our arrangements?"
- (398) The Admiral, still upset, replied:
"Why did they try to make away with me?
If they wish to negotiate here,
let them wait till some future date, when we
won't be disturbed."
- (399) The dog of an Admiral was furious.
His eyes glaring as he spoke, he said:
"Inform the Karaeng
that he must give instructions for all Bone and
Soppeng people to be handed over."
- (400) The warrior went back to the Sultan
and gave him the message from the devilish Dutch.
Raja Palakka said quietly:
"Whatever they demand, Your Highness should agree."

- (401) Palakka went back to the Admiral
and then went on board.
He tilted his turban as he spoke,
telling them how the King of Macassar had behaved.
- (402) When darkness fell
the Sultan returned to his palace.
He took counsel with all his ministers,
seeking to decide what was in the best interest
of the nation.
- (403) The star of his destiny as ruler of Macassar was
at its brightest.
He it was who decided the affairs of state.
"We'll give them what they want,
rather than have them going around in fear and
dismay."
- (404) My master, most noble ruler,
his glory is derived from He who is eternal.
May no danger or calamity befall
his most liberal Majesty.
- (405) The King showed himself always gracious.
Imposing in his state pavilion,
like a jewel in its setting,
both Gowa and Tallo' obtained lustre from him.
- (406) (.....)
The King of Tallo' was)
most wise and noble,
cousin to the Sultan of Gowa.
- (407) Right renowned was this jewel of a prince,
so that both states derived lustre from him.
By the will of God it had been ordained
that he should know neither fear nor alarm.
- (408) Famous was the Karaeng, deservedly praised
always blessed by fortune.
In harmony with his elder cousin
like the gold setting of a diamond.

- (409) Of boundless discretion,
his face is ever radiant.
The son of the late prince,
he was respected by his officers, both civil
and military.
- (410) The king ruled over Bontowala
like an olive tree spreading its shady leaves,
protecting his people.
Of noted generosity to boot.
- (411) At the time of the clash with the infidels,
this prince, it was, who ruled over Macassar,
together with the Sultan;
great and small, all came under their sway.
- (412) May Almighty God grant my request
that no misfortune befall Their Highnesses.
Long may they occupy the throne
and continue to rule over us in the royal castle.
- (413) I will not continue my eulogy -
it is extremely difficult to find the right turn
of phrase that will suit my poem
If my rhymes are wrong or grate on the ear,
I deserve to be called harsh names.
- (414) A few days later
the Admiral came ashore in person,
with parasol-bearers to the right and left of him.
The Sultan was being waited on by all his ministers.
- (415) He was told to come and he came.
The two sides met in the middle of a field.
All the soldiers were wearing their full equipment
and the common people were there in great numbers.
- (416) Palakka was there too
looking like a tipsy Dutchman.
The King of Ternate too was there
with the damned infidel Hollanders.

- (417) The Admiral announced that he was drawing up a binding agreement in the name of the Dutch East India Company. Compensation was insisted upon to the value of fifty 'kati' of gold.
- (418) The elder prince answered:
"Admiral! Don't distress yourself. We'll compensate you with the gold right enough. I should hate to go back on my word."
- (419) The lying infidel was well pleased and, smiling, he said:
"What about the fort at Ujong Pandang to be leased to us?"
- (420) This request too was granted by our prince because, they said, it was to be leased for a place of worship. The dog of an infidel's wiles were successful, to the joy of the Bone and Soppeng folk.
- (421) When the deliberations were at an end the cannon boomed out a deafening salute. It was as though the day of judgement had arrived and the populace felt as if their last moment had come.
- (422) The noise of the cannon was deafening like great claps of thunder. The captured standards were bundled together like so much firewood - a sign of the defeat inflicted upon us by the enemy.
- (423) Ruler most fortunate, Prince most perfect. The King is a most respected ruler. After all the Karaengs had made their peace, all the captured Bone and Soppeng people were handed back.
- (424) The Dutch sailed off to Ujong Pandang together with the wretched Bugis. And of course the stupid Moluccans and Butonese were there, fitting companions for the wretched Ternateans.

- (425) The ship set sail and anchored off-shore
and the Admiral went ashore at Ujong Pandang
.....
.....
- (426) The Admiral stayed at Ujong Pandang
with Palakka.
Karaéngs Layo' and Bengkala' were won over -
a sign that they were about to incur the wrath of
God.
- (427) The Bugis stayed at Ujong Pandang,
going in to Sombaopu every day
taking men from every village;
all the men of Bone went back home.
- (428) Everyone felt aggrieved
as they saw how the damned Bugis behaved,
but they held their peace and said nothing
taking care, all the while, to keep their weapons
in good trim.
- (429) The Admiral was now established at Ujong Pandang
which became busier and busier.
Gold was brought there, to be used as currency,
and it was sold at a very cheap rate.
- (430) In the main hall it was very busy -
a sign that the treaty had been successfully
concluded.
The Admiral brought out the very finest of cloths
some of which he gave to the men of Soppéng and Bone.
- (431) Bitter is the lot of the unfortunate
but what no one expected has come to pass.
When I saw the way the Christians behaved - like
satyrs -
it made my blood boil.
- (432) There was a certain Karaéng - a harsh man -
whose conduct was wicked, most unlike a Muslim
.....
.....

- (433) I am not going to criticize;
such are the wishes of our exalted ruler. -
He lost all control over himself and took leave
of his senses.
The Sultan could no longer trust him.
- (434) To return to Cornelis Speelman,
a calamity befell the outrageous infidels.
One of their ships, captained by an idiot,
ran aground and had to be dragged off.
- (435) Said the Admiral, glaring
at the Dutch, Bugis and Soppengers as he spoke:
"Drag the ship off and we'll make it into a
stockade" -
a shrewd move on the part of the Dutch dogs.
- (436) I come now to the story of how
Dato' Bangkala' sought to find a way to go over to
the enemy.
Although a man of intelligence
he was on friendly terms with the Admiral.
- (437) Listen, gentlemen all,
to the story of Karaéngs Bangkala' and Layo'
how they deliberately neglected the defences of
their stockade,
for their plan was to go over to the enemy.
- (438) One morning, at the break of day,
the Dutch Christians came out from their stockade.
I won't prolong my story unnecessarily
but no one trusted them any more.
- (439) When night fell
we heard the sound of firing from the Christian camp.
It was Dato' who approached
and Karaéng Bangkala' promptly fled.
- (440) The Karaéng fled inland
taking all his men with him.
He sent a letter to the Admiral
asking for someone to fetch him as soon as possible.

- (441) A messenger was sent to him
by the Admiral, the commander-in-chief.
On his arrival, the messenger was given food,
after which, they set out.
- (442) Looking neither to right nor left, they hurried
to meet the Admiral at Ujong Pandang.
As soon as they met, they shook hands.
Said the Admiral: "Don't be so upset, Karaéng."
- (443) Said Karaéng Layo'
to the damned Dutch Admiral:
"There's no need to worry, Sir,
I shall lead the attack on Sanraboné."
- (444) Said Karaéng Léngkésé'
to the fierce Palakka:
"Just see how your Bugis behave -
better far to die than to run away!"
- (445) Said Karaéng Bangkala':
"Now don't be annoyed, Karaéng,
with the benefit of my lord Admiral's assistance,
Sanraboné will get what is due to it."
- (446) Karaéng Layo' said nothing,
but merely saw that his weapons were in good trim.
To the other Karaéng he said:
"When do we march off?"
- (447) Said Karaéng Bangkala' :
"We'd better get our supplies ready."
At a propitious hour after commending their cause
to God,
they assembled at Sanraboné.
- (448) They reached Sanraboné,
their forces taking the coast route.
All their men-at-arms wore coats of chain mail
and looked like dogs who've just been given a corpse
to gnaw at.

- (449) Karaéng Sanraboné heard the news of the arrival of the enemy in great strength. But, putting his trust in the One, the Almighty God, he showed no sign of fear or confusion.
- (450) The Sultan's order went out: Assemble all our forces. In less than no time, every man was on his toes, hearing the news of the expedition.
- (451) Karaéng Jarannika addressed the Sultan his bearing like that of a fierce tiger. "With your Highness' grace and favour, I will take on Bangkala' and Layo'."
- (452) Said Karaéng Ballo', addressing the King of Tallo': "If it's no more than Bangkala' and Layo', let me lead the attack on them."
- (453) When a decision had been reached, largesse was distributed. After the banquet, prayers for a successful outcome were read.
- (454) The royal drums and the war-drums were beaten and the people gathered together, high and low. They rolled up their trousers and tilted their turbans, and, pulling out their kris, began the war-dance.
- (455) They pranced in front of the Sultan - the army and its officers. They were full of determination to fight, under the leadership of Karaéng Jarannika.
- (456) A most powerful prince, he, he came out, twirling his kris, the leader of the Macassar forces - two thousand paid troops.

- (457) Two hundred of them wore coats of mail,
burning to tread underfoot the carcasses of the
enemy.
Karaéng Jarannika looked as handsome as a bridegroom
as he came to Sanraboné.
- (458) The damned Bugis were all at sixes and sevens,
giving it out that Karaéng Jarannika was on the way.
Karaéng Lengkése' was worried and asked:
"What do we do now?"
- (459) As for Karaéng Sanraboné,
nothing could shake his resolution.
He had made detailed plans, well thought out.
Karaéng Jarannika arrived to help him.
- (460) When day had dawned,
all the soldiers arose.
Karaéng Jarannika seized his sword, calling out:
"Let us advance to the attack!"
- (461) Karaéng Lengkése' showed his courage
by drawing his kris and brandishing it in defiance.
Fighting like a devil from hell,
he accounted for several of the Macassar men.
- (462) The fighting went on for a few days
but the Macassarese showed themselves unafraid.
They were, however, in a most uncomfortable position,
completely hemmed in by the thievish Dutch.
- (463) The council-of-war reached its decision,
and next day, at dawn, they attacked.
Two officers were soon killed
as the army advanced on both wings.
- (464) The damned Bugis and infidel Dutch
were locked in battle with the Macassarese.
Karaéng Jarannika was himself a wall of defence
and laid many a Bugis low.

- (465) Asked Karaéng Sanraboné, a true soldier:
 "What shall we do now?"
 Karaéng Jarannika, like some hero of the shadow-play, replied:
 "I am at your disposal."
- (466) Karaéng Bangkala' was frightened while the Dutch officer ran away. It was noon when he fled seeking the Christian commander-in-chief.
- (467) He came at last to Ujong Pandang. When the Admiral saw him, hands on his hips he asked:
 "What news of the fighting?
 Who are the victors and who the vanquished?"
- (468) The best way to answer is to take up the fight. Don't let's sit around here. If the enemy comes to attack us, we must see that our troops are in good spirit."
- (469) Karaéng Léngkése' exclaimed:
 "Your Dutch troops are finished!"
 The Admiral, the devil's general, his heart full of savage rage,
- (470) said, with a glare:
 "Why do you want to speak like that, Karaéng, in front of the Dutch, Boné and Soppéng men? What a cur you are!"
- (471) The nobleman was thoroughly humiliated, because the attack he had made had been decisively defeated. Karaéng Bangkala' looked like a ghost and could only stammer out a few incoherent words.
- (472) Palakka then brought forward, in a conciliating tone, his plan to burn down the English factory. Drawing his kris, he said:
 "Once I attack, they'll all be finished."

- (473) When night fell,
there was a sudden disturbance, and cries of "Fire!"
Palakka attacked on both flanks
but nobody was scared.
- (474) The Maharaja Lela was very angry
to see the English factory being burnt down.
When the Macassarese forces showed no signs of
turning out,
he didn't mince his words.
- (475) His anger was extreme
and he rushed about with his sword drawn.
To the various tunes of the fife and drum
the Macassarese army came out to do battle.
- (476) They fought in grim earnest
with the blasted Bugis.
Dato' Lenang acted as commander of our centre
in the battle that was fought at dawn.
- (477) After the fighting was over,
they buried the bodies of the slain.
The Dutch and the Bugis had fled
to Maros for refuge.
- (478) When the full light of day illuminated the battle-
field,
the Dato' went to have audience with His Highness.
"With Your Highness' divine grace,
we shall have to fight in real earnest now."
- (479) When the Sultan heard these words
he bowed his head in thought for a minute.
After praying for God's help,
he ordered all his forces to gather together.
- (480) Karaéng Mamu, the Macassarese leader,
marched out
to attack the Dutch infidels
and fought till round about the time of the
afternoon prayers.

- (481) The battle raged at Sambong Jawa.
Karaéng Mamu showed no hesitation in risking his life.
To the two monarchs he had declared
that he refused to be left out of the fighting.
- (482) Dato' Gagah, of great fame,
was in command of our forces.
He was supported by Dato' Lenang;
they both of them lost their lives in the fighting.
- (483) They marched along the coast.
Their men-at-arms were wearing coats of chain mail
and were armed with muskets, spears and shields.
They engaged the enemy in strength.
- (484) Karaéng Mamu advanced inland
and many Dutch and Bugis were cut down.
It was as though the Day of Judgement had arrived.
Palakka was badly wounded in the shoulder.
- (485) The wounded Palakka returned to his lines.
When the Admiral saw him he was very upset.
Going to meet the wretched Dutch and Bugis troops,
he said:
"Tomorrow we shall launch our attack."
- (486) A daring man indeed was the Admiral,
the leader of the Christian hosts.
None of the Macassarese could resist his onslaught
as he drove them this way and that.
- (487) The Sultan went out the next day
escorted by the men of Macassar and Tuwajo'.
He had agreed with the King of Tallo'
to make an attack on the Dutch and on Palakka's
forces.
- (488) The King of Tallo' did not arrive
and the Sultan, anxiously looking out for him, felt
his spirits sink.
Eventually he drew up his forces
and the Dutch commander led his army to the attack.

- (489) Once the battle was joined it was impossible to stop. Many Macassarese and Tuwajo' men were killed. At last they gave way and retreated pursued by the Moluccans and the thievish Bugis.
- (490) Said the elder Karaéng:
"We had better erect a stockade at Sambong Jawa. The battle has been to our disadvantage and many of our soldiers have lost their lives."
- (491) A stockade was built at Sambong Jawa but Palakka came to attack it. The fighting lasted only a few days before most of the Malays and Macassarese had abandoned it.
- (492) The Macassarese and Malays could hold out no longer, and they had, of course, to guard the person of the Sultan. They withdrew, fighting as they went, pursued by the Bugis and fiendish Dutch.
- (493) The stockade at Sambong Jawa was captured, the Bugis fighting like the men of yore. It was apparently the will of God that every stockade that was built should be captured by the enemy.
- (494) When the Admiral saw a stockade had been built, he would surround it with his infidel forces. Ambonese, Moluccans and thieves of Bugis, all of them stood ready.
- (495) The Admiral called for Palakka and ordered up his Ternateans and drunken Ambonese; the Bugis were there too, and the accursed Hollanders, all of them ready to go into the attack.
- (496) The warrior-like Dato' Gagah, came forward, when he saw Palakka advancing. He ordered all the cannon to be discharged and the fighting was at its thickest.

- (497) There was no let-up in the onslaughts, and Palakka, surveying the scene, felt discouraged. He called his men together and said: "We shall attack tomorrow."
- (498) The fighting was extremely confused and both sides were hopelessly mixed up. While some advanced, others retreated; only the brave men held the field.
- (499) And so, on the next day, Palakka it was who led the assault and fighting went on for a few days. A stockade had been built at Majannang.
- (500) Listen while your servant relates what happened, and do not curse me. It was by the will of God, apparently that every stockade we built was sooner or later captured.
- (501) We had one large stockade at Balang Baru. When the Dutch infidels saw this they brought their heaviest cannon to bear on it causing great consternation in the Macassar ranks.
- (502) Karaéng Jarannika fought like Sang Bhima together with Karaéng Mamu. The most renowned of their attendants sallied out with them, to give battle.
- (503) The most renowned Karaéng Mamu was in command of our forces. Behind him came the main body of our army driving the enemy back on both flanks.
- (504) The damned Bugis were aghast and fled for their lives, hither and thither. Karaéng Jarannika led the assault and many of the Bugis and Dutch were slain.

- (505) The young and ever ready Karaéng Jarannika galloped his horse into the attack. Karaéng Mamu fought like a garuda - they were both of them nephews of the king.
- (506) The fierce Raja Palakka showed uncommon bravery as he attacked. There were also the Moluccans and the wretched Butonese, all of them ready to risk their lives.
- (507) The battle was a hard-fought one. One could not hear the sound of the muskets firing - the noise of the cannon was like thunder, and many of the rank and file were stretched lifeless.
- (508) The fighting was very confused with both sides inextricably tangled together. There was no rest for anyone, by night or by day. At last Karaéng Jarannika gave way.
- (509) That fierce warrior, Palakka, sought some stratagem to bring the war to an end; he had men digging mines, by night and by day, in which trayfuls of gun-powder were laid.
- (510) Said Karaéng Jarannika:
"Let him blow up the fort;
with the help of the Supreme Being
we'll give him some entertainment!"
- (511) And so they blew up the Macassar fort (for so God had willed). It gave the infidels encouragement in their war against the ruler of Macassar.
- (512) And so the Macassar fort was blown up, a gap some six fathoms wide being made. The Dutch and Bugis, that race of infidels wasted no time in resuming the attack.

- (513) The fighting was ruthless
as the Macassarese were driven back by the thieving
Bugis.
They fought until midday
when they fled to Gowa.
- (514) - Listen, sirs, to my advice:
never make friends with the Dutch.
Possessed of a sort of devilish cunning,
no country can call itself safe when they're around.
- (515) Listen, sirs, to my words,
for I shall not tell you any lies.
That was the original cause of the happenings I
have narrated. -
All the Macassarese fled into the citadel.
- (516) It was the will of God Almighty
to decree that the days of the Macassar struggle
were numbered.
It was at Sombaopu, the main citadel,
that the Sultan's troops rallied for their last
stand.
- (517) All the gentlemen of rank visited the Sultan's
quarters
and had audience with him.
They came to receive their orders, saying:
"We await your commands, by day and by night."
- (518) Asked the senior Karaéngs:
"What plan shall we adopt, gentlemen?
If we are to retreat, let us fall back on Gowa
and have all the womenfolk brought in first."
- (519) When their plans had been decided upon,
the Sultan left the palace.
The Malays refused to carry out the plan
and the Dato' Maharaja Léla had to compel the rebels.
- (520) And so Macassar was defeated,
its fate being in the hands of God Almighty.
Although in a wretched state I have composed this
ballad
so that report of it may reach other lands.

- (521) I ask Your Highness' pardon,
one cannot fight against the will of God.
They showed themselves poor sort of Muslims,
did the Bugis, Butonese and fiendish Ternateans.
- (522) Five years the fighting lasted
without any fall in the spirits of the Macassarese.
Our soldiers were overjoyed
when they saw, in the enemy, a target for their
weapons.
- (523) No sign of fear did the Macassarese show
when they fought with the infidels.
Who knows, if the army had not been short of food,
and opposed, moreover, by the infidel Dutch....
- (524) Listen, sir, to my words.
This is the end of my story, with Macassar being
defeated
by that heretic Palakka.
And even so, fate was against us.
- (525) There are many mistakes and many words carelessly
used,
and if, on examining it, you find cause to complain,
I can only ask your pardon for the hapless wight
who composed it,
but what no one expected has come to pass.
- (526) This is the end of the story of the Macassar war,
and Macassar's defeat at the hands of the Bugis and
infidel Dutch.
They blockaded the people of Macassar
until finally hunger defeated us.
- (527) Enche' Amin is the writer;
it is a pleasure to listen to it.
He it was who composed these verses
making a ballad of some length.
- (528) Enche' Amin it is who composed the poem
telling of the war fought by the Muslims.
Those that died in the fighting shall receive the
reward of the true Muslim
but God alone is omniscient.

- (529) This is the end of the story of our most liberal ruler,
 composed by your very humble servant,
 recorded on Chinese paper,
 although the verses are poor ones, with many deficiencies.
- (530) All you who read my story, gentlemen,
 neither praise nor revile me.
 Wherever you find a mistake, correct it as you read,
 for the author is a man of little insight.
- (531) In writing it, I grew steadily thinner
 and I could hardly bear the agonies I suffered.
 I felt weak and moaned softly
 and I was not free from sorrow.
- (532) The writer is not a man of intelligence,
 and there is no merit in listening to his story.
 I ask the One True and Almighty God
 to forgive me all my sins.
- (533) This is the end of the metaphors and similes
 written by the poor wretch of an author.
 Written with a heart full of anxiety
 for the weaknesses of the body.
- (534) The composition of a wretched outcast -
 but I must not drag on;
 with a sheet of paper as provision for my pen
 I have tried to soothe your cares away.

F I N I S

N O T E S

In the same way that the romanisation of the text was based upon Purwadaminta: KUB, so the 'Notes' have been 'based' upon Wilkinson: MED, to the extent that it has been thought necessary to explain only such words as are not included, or are not explained satisfactorily, in Wilkinson.

A list of the words thus explained immediately follows the 'Notes'.

1a Bismi'llah

For comment on the doxology, see 'Introduction'.

1c muttasil

Arabic "muttasil" (connected, attached, joined).

2b kunhi zat

Arabic "kunhi dzät" (the Divine Essence). Possibly a quotation from Hamzah Fansuri (see 'Introduction').

4a adjla

An elative form -- from the Arabic "djalī" -- meaning "(shining) brightest".⁽¹⁾ The word is not given in Wilkinson: MED but is found in Klinkert: MNW, who quotes the example 'dalil jang adjla'.⁽²⁾

9c sahib al-mimbar

Not a common expression in Malay or in Arabic ("ṣāhibu'l-minbar"), but presenting no difficulty of meaning

9c kuffār

The text has "k-ū-f-r", which I take to be the Arabic "kuffār" (plural of "kāfir"). Although not perhaps as common (in non-religious works) as "kāfir", the word can be found in the oldest Malay mss., e.g. the translation of al-Būsīrī's 'Burda'.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Wehr. ARW (under "djalā".)
 (2) Klinkert: MNW, p.7.
 (3) see Drewes: BUR, p.58 etc.

12d harimau Allah

"The Tiger of God" is a common epithet for the Caliph 'Ali in Malay, especially in works with a Sjah colouring.⁽¹⁾ It is probably a Malayanisation of such titles as the Persian "haidar-i-karrār (the impetuous lion) and the Arabic "asad Allah al-ghālib" (the victorious lion of God).⁽²⁾

13b duli makota 'alam

i.e. the Sultan of Gowa, Hasanuddin, usually referred to in Macassarese records by his posthumous title of "Tuwammenang-ri-balla'-pangkana". A son of Sultan Muhammad Said, Hasanuddin was born in 1631 and became Sultan of Gowa in 1653. He apparently abdicated in favour of his youngest son, Amir Hamzah, on 29th June 1669, making a brief re-appearance on 31 July 1669 to sign the treaty that brought to an end the second bout of hostilities between the VOC and Macassar. His death is recorded on 12 June 1670 "aged 41"(?).⁽³⁾

The author of the sja'ir - his secretary - notsurprisingly has nothing but praise for his master and seems to hint that the Sultan occupied a fairly important position in one of the Sufi orders.⁽⁴⁾ A tendency

(1) see e.g. Winstedt: HML, p.215.

(2) EIS (under "Ali b. Abi Talib).

(3) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.91-132.

(4) See e.g. v.144-146. Most interesting, in this connection, is Speelman's remark "...nochtans naar 't uijterlijk, fijn in 't geloove, precijs op zijn getijen..." (Speelman: NOT, p.425).

towards mysticism is however rarely combined with forth-right statesmanship and the English Factors write of him: "We see this King's fearfulness makes him incapable of any good advice".⁽¹⁾ Disappointment may well have made the Factors exaggerate (although in the event their pessimism was well founded), but even so they were probably nearer the truth than certain Indonesian writers who, apparently eager to confuse local resistance to the VOC with modern Indonesian nationalism, have resuscitated Hasanuddin as a 'national' hero⁽²⁾ and can write of him: "Sebagai seorang pahlawan ia berani maju kemédan depan, dan sebagai seorang Kepala Negara, ia bidjaksana dalam segala tindakan2nja. Oléh sebab itu, tidaklah héran apabila Sultan Hasanuddin dihormati dan disegani oleh pihak lawan dan kawan".⁽³⁾ Such a view appears to be based on little more than sentiment; it is certainly not based on reliable historical evidence, for in point of fact, throughout most of his reign Hasanuddin was ruler of Macassar in name only, the real ruler being now Karaéng Sumenna' and now Karaéng Karunrung.

(1) JAV, Vol.5, section 72a, fol 151. Written by James Bale (see v.263) on 22 April 1667.

(2) e.g. naming a University after him - the 'Universitas Hasanuddin' at Macassar.

(3) Mangemba: SUL, p.87. (The article from which the quotation is taken originally appeared in the Djakarta weekly "Siasat", p.16 of the issue of 14-vi-53.)

Although it is easy to be misled by the title of 'Sultan' into forgetting that, in the oligarchy that Macassar was at the time, it would have required an exceptionally strong king to have ruled effectively, it is nevertheless difficult to acquit Hasanuddin of the charge of being "a dull-spirited king".⁽¹⁾

By far the most convincing character-sketch is given by Speelman, who (in a passage too good to be abbreviated) sums him up as follows:

"... wat belangt de Coning van Macassar: in sijne jonckheijt is hij genegen geweest tot drincken en speelen, zedert in employ comende is dat naar-gebleven, heeft zich weinich becommert in observantien van wigtige saecken, cleen onderwijs ontvangen in zijn minder jaricheit(,) van dezelve, 't verstant niet groot, sijnde geen man van directie, noch van resolutie, dispooneert van sigh selven niet, vervaert en verset in tegenspoet, gierigh boven maten, loont geen diensten, zijn domesticquien selve krijgen niet, genegen tot vrouwen, nochtans naar 't uitjtterlijck, fijn in 't geloove, precijs op zijn getijen, heel opgegeven tot gelt conquestie, 't sij op welcke wijze het ooch wesen magh, sullende een slave van de straat bij

(1) JAV, Vol.3, part III, fol.175. Written by the then Chief Factor, Mainstone, on 8 June 1660.

hem ter negotie admiteeren, soo der een weignigh winst bij is, wraeck suchtig en haet-draegende is hij, evenwel zijn alle misdrijven bij hem voor gelt vergeeffelijk, echter speels genoeg om een Comps. Coning te wezen, en ik derve ook vast stellen, dat de vrede van Bonaaije, niet en soude zij vervalle, soo hij sich selven, meester waar geweest en zijn eigen zinlickheijt opgevolcht waare, hebbende het ook niet aan hem gehaperd, onse successive aanmaningen van harten te ampleteeren, om een eijnde van 't oorlog te maecken: dan gelijk hij zijn maght langer onmaghtig was, soo en doorfde hij ook sijne intentie niet te kennen geven, indiense was contraire de opinie van Cronron..."(1)

13c Sjahi 'alam

The text here (L only) has what appears to be "s-î-ā-"). In modern Malay, the usual form of the title would be "sjah 'alam"⁽²⁾ (spelt "sj-ā-h 'ā-l-m") and it is possibly this pronunciation that was intended here by the copyist of L, who, in v.42d, spells the first word of the title as "sj-ā-h".

This same spelling is however the correct (Persian) spelling of "sjāhi ('ālam)", the idafa-affix "-i" being represented, if necessary, by a kasrah.⁽³⁾

(1) Speelman: NOT, p.425-426. The fact that Speelman could still see in this venal character a "Company's King" is an interesting comment on the venal nature of the Company Speelman served.

(2) Purwadaminta: KUB lists only the form "sjah('alam)".

(3) cf. Levy: PER, p.32 (and note 1).

As S, the later of the two mss, prefers the spelling "s-ā-h-î" (in v.42d and v.146a) to "s-ā-h" (in v.517c only), obviously reflecting the pronunciation "sjahi", I have preferred the reading "sjahi" throughout.

14c 'ilmu empat belas laksana

An uncommon phrase in Malay, although apparently fairly common in Achinese (as "èleumèë peuët blaïh"). (1)

What these fourteen sciences were is doubtful. Snouck Hurgronje suggested two possible explanations:

- (a) that it derives from a misunderstanding of the exact number of the "scientific attainments required of a candidate for the post of qadhi or judge" (often described as a mastery of the fifteen sciences);
- (b) that it derived from the expression "tasrîf empat belas" (Achinese: teuseurén peuët blaïh) indicating the 14 forms which, in tense of an Arabic verb, serve to mark all distinctions of number gender and person. (2)

(1) Djajadiningrat: ANW (under "èleumèë").

(2) Snouck Hurgronje: ACH. Vol. 2, p.58.

It would not be difficult for the layman to confuse a knowledge of Arabic grammar with Islamic law, and it is possible that the expression "ilmu empat belas (laksana)", is the result of such a confusion.

Its use here in connection with the following line (where "hakikat" and "sempurna" are part of the mystic's technical vocabulary) suggest that the 'fourteen types of knowledge' are those required to reach a state of perfection (the state of the 'insān kamīl', in fact) in which incorporation with the Godhead (fanā') is achieved and the Absolute Truth (haqīqah) attained.

20a Sultan di Gowa

In the middle of the 17th century the government of the state known as Macassar was in the hands of an oligarchy of which the rulers of Gowa and Tallo' were traditionally the leaders.⁽¹⁾ According to Macassar chronicles, Gowa and Tallo' were twin-states⁽²⁾ that had come into existence as the result of a division of the kingdom between two of the King's sons, the elder becoming ruler of Gowa, and the younger becoming ruler of Tallo'. The theory of

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.2-3.

(2) Matthes: MCH, p.451, quotes (from a work he calls the "oudste Geschiedenis van Gôwa, Tâlló....") a passage translated as: "Gôwa en Tâlló zijn te beschouwen als een volk onder twee heeren. En die er maar van droomt, om beiden natien tegen elkander op te zetten, worde gedood." (Macassarese text on p.180).

government in Macassar and the traditional supremacy of the ruler or 'Sultan' of Gowa (Macassar embraced Islam in the first decade of the 17th century) is illustrated by a letter written in 1666 by the Head of the English East India Company's factory in Macassar to his superintendant at the Bantam factory: "Your Worship's letter to Craine Seman arrived two days before his death..... but the Great King (i.e. of Gowa: C.S.) taking the government upon himself received them and the powder. Also gave him a barrel of powder and the King of Tallow as being jointly in government....."(1)

20c mendjauh nahi mendekatkan amar

This is, of course, the Malay form of the traditional precept "al-amr bi'l-ma'ruf wa'n-nahi 'an al-munkar".(2)

21b seraksi

The ms. (L only) has "s-l-q-s-ä" and one might perhaps conjecture "selaksa(na)" - 'of one and the same kind as'. However, "selaksana" does not seem to be very common, and I have preferred to conjecture the far commoner expression "seraksi", (3) which would certainly be a very appropriate

(1) JAV, Vol.5, section 72a, fol.136. Written by our James Bale on 28 September 1666.

(2) see e.g. von Grunebaum: ISL, p.127.

(3) Purwadaminta: KUB prefers the form "rasi", but in Malaya at least, the word is never pronounced without the glottal stop.

term to stress the "perfect harmony" in which the 'brother'-Sultans would conventionally be assumed to live.⁽¹⁾

21b adinda di Telo'

The 'young king of Tallo' referred to here is Harun al-Rasjid (postumous title: Tuwammenang-ri-lampanna) born in 1640. He succeeded to the throne of Tallo' while still a minor, his uncle, the famous Karaéng Patingallowang, acting as regent. He was, at least nominally, in command of the Macassar expedition that put down a premature Bugis rising in June, 1667 (see v.152-203). After the end of hostilities he paid a visit to Batavia, in company with many other Macassar notables, to attend the great 'burying the hatchet' banquet given by Governor-General Maetsuycker in December, 1669.⁽²⁾ He died, some five years later, in 1674.⁽³⁾

26b asma

One would normally expect the word (Arabic "asmä'", plural of "ism" - 'a name') to be used to describe the 'names' or attributes of God, but both here and in v.27c ("menjatakan asma radja jang ghana") the writer seems

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- (1) The basic idea, of course, being "born under similar stars" cf. Wilkinson: MED, under "raksi".
 (2) DAG, entry under December 20th, 1669, p. 480.
 (3) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.102-137.

quite clearly to use it to describe the various attributes of his master, the Sultan of Gowa (cf. v.29a: "Tamatlah sudah menudji Sultan")

As the particular names or attributes cited are (naturally) all favourable ones, I have translated it rather freely as "virtues".

26c sindir

The use of "sindir" here and in v.27 seems a little strange. It might possibly be used to deprecate the poet's skill as a versifier, but it is more likely that the writer's use of the word is influenced by the cognate Macassarese word "sinrili'" which, according to Cense, is "een algemene benaming voor gedichten van verschillende aard".⁽¹⁾

29b Welanda

Purwadaminta: KUB gives only the forms "Wolanda" and "Belanda". It seems unlikely - as the prevalence of the form "Belanda" testifies, that the (mid-)high vowel could have maintained itself in normal Malay speech, where there is a decided tendency for such vowels to 'slide' into the central position in the imaginary vowel triangle.⁽²⁾ I have therefore preferred the form "Welanda".

(1) Cense: MBG, p.59

(2) Spellings such as "gulita", "gumbira", "musjawarat", etc. have little relation to the pronunciation of these words in normal Malay speech today (i.e. as "gelita", "gembira", "mesj(e)warat" etc.)

29c Kornilis Sipalman

Cornelis Janszoon Speelman (1628-1684) went out to Batavia as a minor official of the VOC in 1645. After a brilliant career that included a stay in Persia (1651-1652), he was appointed Governor of the Coromandel Coast in 1663 and held that office for two years. It was originally intended that the 1666 expedition against Macassar (whose exploits are related to our sja'ir) should be under the command of Johan van Dam, who had already conducted one successful campaign against Macassar in 1660, but upon his refusing the command, the office of "Superintendent, Admirael, Krijgsoverste ende Commissaris" was entrusted to Speelman.

Speelman won several more military triumphs before succeeding Rijkloff van Goens as Governor-General in 1681. Great things were expected of a man with such an outstanding career behind him and Dutch historians have been intrigued by the fact that nothing so became his Governor-Generalship as his leaving it - with the most expensive funeral that had ever been staged in Batavia.⁽¹⁾

Through most of his career however, Speelman seems to have combined military talents of the highest order with a tireless attention to detail reminiscent of a Raffles - all the more remarkable in that he lacked nothing

(1) Stapel: CJS, passim.

in conviviality. In a letter written to his friend, Johan van Hoorn, he refers to himself as "... dien groten professor over Bachus' scholieren....", and his biographer, Stapel, adds dryly: "Hij had er Venus bij kunnen noemen". (1)

29d Tatkala ke Buton membawa angkatan

Speelman's expedition was not, of course, specifically directed towards Buton. On October 5th, 1666, the Supreme Council of the VOC at Batavia had decided to send a powerful force to visit the 'Oosterse quartieren' to protect the interests of the VOC and its allies against attack from Macassar. Although it subsequently became known at Batavia that the projected Macassar attack had been postponed, the VOC decided to go ahead with the expedition and on the same day (November 2nd) officially declared war against Macassar. The "Commissie voor d'Heer Cornelis Speelman", signed by Governor-General Joan Maetsuycker proposed "..... een aensienelijke krijgsmacht nae de Oosterse quartieren af te senden om Compagnies costelijcke provintien Amboina, Banda ende Ternaten tegens de invasien der Macassaren alomme te beschermen....." On the same day (November 23rd) Speelman received detailed instructions as to how he was to proceed. He was first of all to visit

(1) Stapel: CJS, p.81.

Macassar and try and conclude a peace with the King before proceeding eastwards via Buton. These instructions Speelman faithfully carried out, as our sja'ir records.⁽¹⁾

29d Buton

The island off the South-Eastern tip of the Celebes, now called Pulau Butung. Although, in the middle of the 17th century, Buton still acknowledged the overlordship of Ternaté (the VOC's ally), it lived in a constant state of fear of the nearer, and by then more powerful, state of Macassar. In October 1666, an expedition had set out from Macassar under Karaéng Bonto Marannu, determined to conquer Buton once and for all. Speelman's expedition arrived just in time to save Buton (see v.98-135).⁽²⁾

30b Bugis

The name Bugis (from "Wugi'" - a district in Wadjo') is probably best regarded as a generic name for the peoples inhabiting the states of Luwu', Wadjo', Bone' and Soppéng. Luwu', the most northerly of these states was probably the first to be organised as a political unit and is traditionally regarded as the parent-state, but it seems to have lost its supremacy well before the end of the 16th century. In 1582, Wadjo' (now increased in

(1) Stapel: HBV (see in particular Appendices 1 and 2a).

(2) Ligtoet: DVG, p.28, p.125.

in size at the expense of Luwu') entered into a loose form of federation with Boné and Soppéng (the "Tellumpotjo" or 'Compact of the Three States'), but in face of the growing might of Macassar in the first half of the 17th century the compact seems to have lost its force, for Wadjo' became a loyal ally of Macassar while Boné and Soppéng - frequently conquered by Macassar - just as frequently rose in revolt, the common burden of defeat and oppression serving to draw the two states even closer together. At the time of Speelman's expedition the Macassarese had become easily the strongest power in Celebes, with the leader of the Bugis 'rebels' - the Soppéng princeling Aru Palakka - an exile, driven to take service with the VOC. The VOC attack on Macassar was, of course, too good a chance to be missed and the Bugis of Boné and Soppéng once more rose in revolt, playing a vital part in Macassar's eventual defeat. This defeat (taken full advantage of by Aru Palakka, subsequently King of Boné) resulted in the Bugis displacing the Macassarese as the most important race in South Celebes, with Boné as the leading Bugis state, a position it maintained until 1859, when the Kingdom of Boné was abolished by the Dutch.⁽¹⁾

(1) ENI (under "Boegineezen"); Noorduyt: KWA (passim); APA (passim).

30d Raja Palaka

Aru ('Prince') Palakka, born in 1629, was the son of Datu Mario Lamatta, a vassal of the King of Soppéng. Of all the Bugis states, it was Soppéng and Boné that put up the stoutest resistance to the growing might of Macassar, but eventually, in 1640, both Soppéng and Boné were forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Macassar. As conquered vassals of Macassar, the Bugis princes had to attend the Macassar court and it was as a page to the Macassar King that Palakka learned to know intimately the Macassar court and its customs.

Although defeated in battle, Soppéng and Boné were constantly in revolt against Macassar, and Bugis tradition has it that Aru Palakka's father and grandfather were both executed for making attempts on the life of the Macassar King. The same tradition has it that Palakka himself escaped the same fate only as the result of a faulty stroke by the Macassar headsman.

With every reason to oppose them Palakka fought the Macassarese on every occasion and with almost incredible bravery, and during the 1666-69 campaign became something of a hero with the Dutch (his Commander-in-Chief, Speelman, however, often had occasion to regret and reprove Palakka's recklessness).⁽¹⁾

(1) Stapel: HBV, p. 103, p.146-147, p.153-154, p.159-160; CJS.p.53.

After the final defeat of the Macassarese in 1669, Palakka became the dominating figure in the Southern Celebes and, on the abdication of the aged King of Bone, in 1672, Palakka was at once chosen to succeed him (despite the availability of direct male heirs).

Palakka was, of course, of great use to the VOC, who often acted through him. At a later stage of his career however, the Dutch became aware that Palakka, while speaking in their name, was not always acting in their interests, particularly when these conflicted with the interests of Bone and Aru Palakka, and some friction resulted. Despite this he died, in 1696, without being unseated, the head of a powerful Bugis state.⁽¹⁾

31c Mengkasar

The Malays (like the Dutch and English) paid little heed to the niceties of Macassar political institutions and referred to the twin-states of Gowa and Tallo' by the name of the most important commercial settlement in the state of Gowa - Macassar.⁽²⁾ 'Mengkasar', rather than 'Mekasar', would appear to be the original Malay pronunciation.⁽³⁾ In Macassarese it is called "Mangkasara".⁽⁴⁾

(1) APA (passim).

(2) Stapel: HBV, pp.2-3.

(3) cf. Valentijn: ONO, "Macassar (by de Inlanders in hunne Maleitze schriften met den naam van Mangkasar bekend)".

(4) Matthes: MHW (under "Mangkasara").

31d Tunderu'

'(Si) Tunderu' is the sja'ir's usual name for Aru Palakka. It is derived from his Bugis name and title "Aru-Palakka-To-wunru,"⁽¹⁾ It was apparently a common appellation for him in the Macassar of the 1660's for James Bale⁽²⁾ writes (to his Chief at Banten) on December 21st, 1667 (just two days after the arrival of Speelman's fleet before Macassar): "The Dutch with 3 ships and 7 or 8 sloops have been before this Road, Tundro and the rest of the Buggis with them threatening fire and sword....."⁽³⁾ Again, in (the contemporary Dutch translation of) a letter written to Governor-General Maetsuycker in 1669, the King of Bima refers to "... Situnero de Radja Bougys".⁽⁴⁾

37a tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu

In the 'Instructie voor de Heer Cornelis Speelman' drawn up on November 23rd, 1666 (one day before the expedition set sail), the number of troops is stated to be "500 duytsse en 300 inlandse soldaeten". Stapel, apparently quoting Speelman, says that an inspection of

(1) Nieman: GTA, p.40, p.157.

(2) See note to v.263.

(3) JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 137-138.

(4) DAG, entry under July 22nd, 1669.

the troops held a few days out of Batavia produced the following figures:

ships' personnel	818
Dutch soldiers	578
locally-enlisted soldiers	395

but is, naturally enough, at a loss to account for Speelman's total of 1711 total personnel. Elsewhere, Stapel merely says that there were "bijna 600 Nederlandse soldaten, benevens de Boeginezen en Ambonezen".⁽¹⁾ The author of the *sja'ir* is substantially correct in the figures he gives.

37b kamsol

The Dutch "kamizool" - a coat with sleeves, possibly the leather jacket worn by 17th century soldiers. The word is now obsolete (cf. Pigeaud: JNH).

38a Delapan belas kapal yang besar

Stapel deduces from the slightly conflicting contemporary statements (in Speelman's 'Commission', in his 'Instructions', and in the *Dagh-Register*) that there were in all twenty-one ships in Speelman's fleet⁽²⁾ and this number is confirmed by the Macassar Court Diary that records under 19th December, 1666: "The ships of the

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.97, p.99, p.195.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.97.

Dutch are sighted, twenty-one in number." (1) Of these twenty-one however, only fifteen had any right to be called 'war-ships', the remaining six being smaller craft of the sloop type. (2)

38d sampailah ia kenegeri Mengkasar

The fleet arrived before Macassar on December 19th, 1666. (3)

39a Barombong

A village on the coast some eight or nine km. south of Macassar.

42a Daéng

A title given to Macassarese of noble but not royal descent (for whom the title 'karaéng' is reserved). The title may however be given to Karaéngs before they attain maturity. (4)

42a Kare

A Macassarese title for a person of some rank. Lower than Daéng. (5)

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.125.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.97.

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.100; Ligtvoet: DVG, p.125.

(4) Matthes: MHW (under "Daéng.")

(5) Matthews. MHW (under "Karé.")

44a Keraéng

Macassarese 'Karaéng' (Prince), the senior title of nobility in Macassar, borne by those of royal descent.⁽¹⁾

44a Keraéng Ketapang

Son of Karaéng Data (a half-brother of Hasanuddin's great-grandfather), hence the familiar way in which he addressed the Sultan. The Macassar Court Diary records his death on July 31st, 1668.⁽²⁾

45a perkandjar

von de Wall: MNW gives:

I. Kandjar: Trappelen zooals bv. van ongeduld, inz. met getrokken en opgeheven keris voor iemand, wien men trouw zweert.

Tromp, writing in 1888, says that 'kandjar' is the name of a dance popular in Kutai and with the neighbouring Dayak tribes. The dancers dance in a long row, with or without movements and flourishes.⁽³⁾ W. Kern agrees with Tromp that the dancers do not carry weapons.⁽⁴⁾ The present text would however appear to support van de Wall's

(1) Matthews: MHW (under "Karaéng.")

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.129 (In his index (ibid., p.124), the date is wrongly listed as "31 July 1660")

(3) Tromp: USK, p.104.

(4) Kern: CSK, p.53.

interpretation against Tromp and Kern, for in v.56 we have:

Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé'
 ia berkandjar mentjabut sunderik
 berdiri melompat seraja bertempik
 barang dimana dititahkan patik.

Matthes gives "kañjd̃jara'" (to dance) and goes on to say that the expression "pakañjd̃jara'" is used to indicate a special way of beating the drum (Macassarese "ganrang2" cognate with Malay "genderang") when the dancers "mangaru" (Malay "mengaru", cf. v.47a) or set out to do battle.⁽¹⁾ I take '(ber)kandjar' to be identical with 'mengaru' and translate 'genderang pe(r)kandjar' as 'war-drum'.

46a Keraéng Popo'

Karaéng Popo', uncle of the Sultan of Tallo', born c.1613. The Macassar Court Diary reports him fighting against the Dutch in 1655 and going to Batavia to sign the treaty that ended the 1660 war with the Dutch. He died on the island of Bima on March 7th, 1680.⁽²⁾

46b sunderik

I am obliged to Sir Richard Winstedt for suggesting the translation "cutlass."

(1) Matthes: MHW (Under "kañjd̃jara'".)

(2) Ligetvoet: DVG, p.94-148.

47a mengaru

"In giving assurances of loyalty and obedience at a public assembly, the speaker often dances, flourishing his spear or sword.... This is intended to express rage at and defiance of an imaginary enemy."(1)

The above quotation, that describes perfectly what is meant by 'mengaru' (in Wilkinson: MED, as "mengarok") is an interesting proof that this custom is widespread among the races of Indonesian origin. It is taken from a description of a 'sword-dance' met with among the Hovas, the ruling race of Madagascar, who are of Indonesian origin. (see also note to v.45a.)

47a Keraéng Léngkés

Karaéng Léngkésé', born in 1627, the elder brother of Karaéng Djarannika, married a sister of the Sultan of Tallo' in 1649. In 1664, he succeeded his father (Karaéng Tjenrana) as 'Tu-mailalang' (roughly 'Chancellor') Accompanied the Sultan of Tallo' on the expedition to put down the premature Bugis rising in Boné in 1667 (see v.152 et seq., particularly v.177). At a later stage of the campaign however, Karaéng Léngkésé' went over to the Dutch (see v.444 et seq.). He died on April 10th, 1695.(2)

(1) Sibree: MBC, p.171.

(2) Ligetvoet: DVG, p.90-165.

48a Keraéng Garasi'

Karaéng Garassi', nephew of Hasanuddin's grandfather, married an aunt of Hasanuddin. Hence his referring to the Sultans of Gowa and Tallo' as "anakanda kedua" (v.48b). According to Speelman, Hasanuddin became Sultan of Gowa only because Karaéng Patingallowang and Karaéng Garassi' were unwilling to stand for election. He died on June 9th, 1668.(1)

49a Keraéng Bonto Madjannang

Karaéng Madjannang, brother of Hasanuddin, born in 1643. In April, 1667, he went to defend Bantaéng against Dutch attacks but was unable to prevent its capture some two months later (see v.216). He was wounded in the fighting subsequent to the Treaty of Bungaja and died (probably of wounds) on September 10th, 1668.(2)

50a Keraéng Djaranika

Karaéng Djarannika, a younger brother of Karaéng Léngkésé', born in 1641. Upon his elder brother's desertion to the Dutch, he probably took over the function of "Tu-mailalang" (Chancellor). According to our text, he was the outstanding warrior among the Macassarese (see v.347, v.460 etc.) and the Dutch recognised him as

(1) Ligtoet: DVG, p.92-129.

(2) Ligtoet: DVG, p.104-129.

"een beroemt krygsmā van den vyandt".⁽¹⁾ Speelman describes him as being "... loos en snedich van observantie in de dingen die hem werden aanbevoolen, meer als een campvechter. valsch van omme-gank en genegen tot moorden...."⁽²⁾ The Macassar Court Diary does not mention him by name during the 1666-1669 fighting but subsequent entries show him leading one war-like expedition after another until his violent death, on Lombok, at the hands of the Balinese, in 1700.⁽³⁾

51a Keraéng Pandjalingang

Karaéng Pandjallingang, born c. 1637. Little is known of him apart from a quarrel with Karaéng Bonto Madjannang over the latter's wife. His death is recorded in the Macassar Court Diary (under the date 13th August, 1668) with the words: "Karaéng Pandjallingang has his head struck off at Marusu" (i.e. Maros: C.S.), while the Dagh-Register of September 1st, 1668 records the receipt of a letter from Speelman announcing "... hoe onse Bougys op den 12en van deselve maent (August: C.S.) omtrent Marous een considerable victorie op den vyandt bevogten, hun gansch uyt het velt geslagen en 65 afgehackte coppen becomen hadden, waer onder ook het hooft van Crain Payelingen, een voorname Macassaers veltheer".⁽⁴⁾

(1) DAG, entry under 30 May, 1669 (p.331).

(2) Speelman: NOT, p.472.

(3) Ligtfoot: DVG, p.102-171.

(4) DAG, p.150. See also Ligtfoot: DVG, p.120-129.

52a Keraéng Bonto Sunggu

Karaéng Bonto Sunggu, son of Karaéng Patingallowang and brother of Karaéng Karunrung, born in 1643. He married a half-sister of Hasanuddin in 1656. He later became 'Tu-mailalang' (Chancellor) and, living to a ripe old age, seems to have acted as a sort of 'king-maker' in Macassar, deposing the Sultan of Gowa in 1712. He died on July 3rd, 1726.⁽¹⁾

52c tjutjuk

Here apparently used in the sense of 'vanguard, leader of the assault'.

53a Keraéng Ballo'

Karaéng Ballo', son of Karaéng Katinting, born in 1646. He married a half-sister of Hasanuddin in 1663. After the cessation of hostilities, he formed one of the party of Macassar notables that went to Batavia to ask forgiveness of the VOC. He died on the 18th March, 1680.⁽²⁾

54a Keraéng Sanderabone'

This almost certainly refers to Hasanuddin's son, 'Abdu'l-djalil (born 1652), although he was not officially installed as Prince of Sanrabone' until March 1668.⁽³⁾

(1) Ligtoet: DVG, p.105-205.

(2) Ligtoet: DVG, p.107-148.

(3) Ligtoet: DVG, p.111-182.

54c Sopéng

Soppéng, which, together with Bone', was the most important of the Bugis states and leader of the revolt against Macassarese domination. Aru Palakka (see note to v.30d) was a Soppéng prince.

54c Bone'

The district and state of Bone' (Boni) and its capital (Watamponé). With the reign of Aru Palakka (see note to v. 30d), it became the most important of the Bugis states and the most important state in South-West Celebes. As a political entity, the Kingdom of Bone' was abolished by the Dutch in 1859.

54d Sula'

The Sula islands are some 400 km. South of the Northern tip of the Celebes. At the time of the incidents described in our sja'ir, they seem to have acknowledged the overlordship of the King of Ternate',⁽¹⁾ and it was the news of a proposed Macassar expedition against the Sula islands (and thus against the VOC's ally, the King of Ternate') that had helped to decide the VOC to go ahead with the punitive expedition against Macassar.

(1) Heeres: CDN, p.314. ENI (under 'Soela eilanden').

It is unlikely that Speelman had any Sula troops on board his invasion fleet when he set out from Batavia. The author is perhaps anticipating, for Stapel quotes a decision made by Speelman after the victory at Buton (in January, 1667) to bring back with him from his visit to the 'Eastern Territories' as many troops as possible ".....ook Inlands, zoals Ternateens, Tidorezen, Xoelaers en Tagelanders".(1)

54d Burene'

Burene' is the original name of the state of Brunei, once the most important kingdom on the island of Borneo, to which it gave its name.(2)

The Dutch appear to have had comparatively little to do with Brunei during the 17th century. On the West coast, Sukadana and Sambas, and on the South coast, Bandjarmasin, received some attention from the VOC but it seems most unlikely that the Dutch obtained any assistance from Borneo in their campaigns against Macassar.

56a bage'

The word 'bage' occurs four times in the sja ir as follows:

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.113.

(2) Veth: BWA, deel 1, inleiding, p. xxxiii.

Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé' (v.56a)

Bertjakaplah bagé Daéng Mangépe' (v.59a)

Menjahut bagé Kapitan Djepara (v.133c)

Menitah bagé Sultan jang besar (v.278a)

spelt "b-ā-g", "b-ā-g-i", "b-g-i" and "b-ā-g-i" respectively. In every case it occurs before some form of title (Karaéng, Daéng, Kapitan, Sultan) suggesting that it is some form of honorific, possibly a shortened form of 'baginda'. This view is strengthened by the 'baginda Keraéng Ketapang' of v.44 and the 'baginda Keraéng Popo' of v.46. I have accordingly translated it as 'noble'.⁽¹⁾

56a Keraéng Mandalé'

Karaéng Mandallé', son of Karaéng Karunrung, born in 1653. He formed one of the party that went to Batavia in October, 1669 to ask forgiveness of the VOC. Married in 1687, he died some three years later.⁽²⁾

57a Keraéng Mamu

Karaéng Mamu (according to Ligtoet, his real title was Karaéng Palémba). He too went to Batavia in October 1669. He was murdered at Bonto-wala' (in Macassar) in 1677.⁽³⁾ The sja'ir depicts him as one of the bravest of the Macassar warriors (see vv. 354, 480-481, 502-503, 505).

(1) Whether it is or not a shortened form of 'baginda', it seems very likely that it is, like 'baginda', derived from the Sanskrit "bhagya". Cf. Javanese which in fact has the form "bage".

(2) Ligtoet: DVG, p.113-160.

(3) Ligtoet: DVG, p.131-143.

58a Daéng Mabéla

A Daéng Mabéla is mentioned in the Macassar Court Diary under 3rd October, 1644, but this would hardly fit in with the sja'ir's description of him as 'muda' (see v. 358). Little seems to be known of him apart from what the author of the sja'ir tells us.

58b menjampai kan destar

To show how deeply he was stirred, how much his honour was involved. That it was no mere gesture here is proved by his subsequent death in battle (see v. 376).

59a Daéng Mangépe'

This is probably Daéng Mangappe', the half-brother of the Sultan of Tallo'. In the Treaty between the VOC and the Sultan of Tallo' signed on 9th March, 1668, the latter calls him (in the Dutch translation) "mijn broeder". A later Treaty concluded on 15th July, 1669 records that amongst those taking the oath were "daijen Mangappe, halve broeder van den coningh van Tello"(1)

60a Daéng ri Boko sahbandar jang tua

There were two Sjahbandars in Macassar, the 's(j)ahbandar jang tua' and the 's(j)ahbandar jang muda

(1) Heeres: CDN, p.382, p.415. See also p.417, where he is referred to as "dajang Mangappa".

(v.61). The usual translation of Sjahbandar as 'Harbour-master' probably does scant justice to the importance and profits of office in the Indonesian port-kingdoms.

The Court Diary of Gowa and Tallo' records that Daéng ri Boko was appointed 'Sabandar' on August 6th, 1661.⁽¹⁾ He and his family are given a good deal of attention by the author of our sja'ir (vv 60, 357, 367-375), and in view of this and in view of the office he held, one might suspect that he was a 'Melajü' rather than a Macassarese.

61a Sahbandar jang muda

See note to v. 60a. It seems likely that this was a "Daéng Makkullé", whom the Macassar Court Diary records as having been appointed 'Sabandar' in April, 1661. The sja'ir shows him taking part in the crushing of the Bugis uprising in 1667 (see v. 173). The Court Diary records his death in 1677 aged 62.⁽²⁾

61c Mangalékana

Probably Mangallakana, a coastal village in the district of Gowa (i.e. up the River Berang, not in the sea-port of Macassar).⁽³⁾

62a Datu' Maharadjaléla

Besides the relative prominence of the role allotted

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- (1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.119.
 (2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.119-144. For the name, see also Heeres: CDN, p.417.
 (3) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.155.

him in the sja'ir - a sign that the individual was probably a member of the 'Malay' group in Macassar (and thus a likely customer, or at least audience for the author of the sja'ir) - we find that it is the Maharadjaléla who is given command of the stockade manned by Malays (v.322); again, it is the Maharadjaléla who is called upon to enforce the Sultan's authority over the Malay community (v.519).

The titles 'Maharadjaléla' and 'Seri Amar Diradja' (in v. 63) are specifically Malay titles and have no place in the political institutions of Macassar. The bearers of these titles would presumably be not Macassarese but Malays - they are not mentioned in the Gowa and Tallo' Court records of the time - probably not local born Malays but 'foreign' Malays.

Both the 'Maharadjaléla' and 'Seri Amar Diradja' seem to play an important role in the fighting and it is perhaps not too fanciful to cast them as nobles forced, by war, (civil or otherwise) to flee their own country and sell the services of themselves and their retainers as mercenaries.⁽¹⁾

(1) As, for example, did the Karaéng Bonto Marannu of our sja'ir. After the final defeat of the Macassarese, he and a band of retainers - Stapel: CJS, p. 85, calls them 'pirates' - left Macassar and went first to Banten and then to East Java, where they assisted the Madurese Prince Truna Djaya in his struggle to seize control of Mataram.

63a Datu' Seri Amar Diradja

Another member of the 'Malay' community (see note to v.62a). The father-in-law of the Macassar interpreter, Entji' Djabar (see v.273).

67b Entji' Amin

See 'Introduction'

67c ghalat

L has "ch-l-t", which might perhaps be read as the Arabic "challat" (incomplete(ness)),⁽¹⁾ but I prefer the far commoner⁽²⁾ "ghalat" of S here.

67d muchtasar

The word also occurs in v.70a and v.71a spelt as follows:

67d (in L only) : m-ḥ-t-ṣ-l/r

70a (in S only) : m-ch-t-ā-ṣ-l/r

71a (in L only) : m-ḥ-t-ṣ-l/r

giving us a hypothetical form "m-ch/h-t-(ā)-ṣ-l/r". v.71a

where it occurs as a rhyme for "Djabar", "besar" dan "dikisar" suggests that 'r' be preferred as the last letter, giving the form "m-ch/h-t-(ā)-ṣ-r", in which it is not too difficult to recognise the

Arabic "muchtasar",⁽³⁾ a word which,

(1) Wehr: ARW (under "challa")

(2) e.g. Wilkinson: MED and Purwadaminta: KUB both give "ghalat"; neither give "chalat".

(3) The transition from 'ch' to 'h' is one that is easily made, both intentionally (cf. spellings such as 'tachta'/'tahta') and unintentionally (the loss of a single dot.)

although not given in Wilkinson: MED, is certainly known in Malay. The meaning of the word (shortened, abbreviated, succinct)⁽¹⁾ would seem to fit the context fairly well, i.e. the Macassar reply to the 'insolent missive' of the VOC would not waste much time on flowery compliments but would confine itself to a brief statement of the Macassar case.

67d tiada ddibuat

I can only conjecture a meaning akin to 'dibuat-buat' (to pretend, to sham) and take the line to indicate that the letter was not full of the usual hypocritical flattery but went straight to the point.

70a surat.....

Although S supplies the missing word(s) - "jang muchtasar" - I think the rhyme scheme demands their rejection. The verse in S is obviously corrupt - 2 lines are missing - and the fact that, in an identical position in the very next verse, the same two words occur, prompts the suspicion that S has not only missed two lines but has also unconsciously written the end of v.71a for the end of v.70a. The similarity between v.70b and v.71b

(1) Wehr: ARW (under "chasira")

would cause him, as he has done, to omit v.70c and v.70d and proceed straight on to v.71c.

71b Djabar⁽¹⁾

Another member of the Malay community, the son-in-law of Datu' Seri Amar Diradja.⁽²⁾ A letter from the English Factors at Macassar provides confirmation of Djabar's existence (and profession). Writing of the arrival in Macassar of a VOC mission (headed by van Wesenhagen), James Bale notes: "March 13th (1666): Craine Semana (i.e. Karaéng Sumanna') sent Segebar Durubassa (i.e. Si Djabar djuru bahasa) with Codga Ebrahim (i.e. Chodja Ibrahim) to write in Malayan what the D(utch) requests were".⁽³⁾

72a Djuru bahasa jang disuruh

Stapel says the Macassar party consisted of four men, two nobles and two interpreters. The author of the sja'ir notes only Djabar, the Malay member of the party.⁽⁴⁾

76c Bima dan Dompu

As the apparatus criticus shows, the reading is doubtful. Palakka is here talking to the Macassar envoys.

(1) As a common Malay name, the spelling of the Arabic "djabbār" has been 'Malayanised' here (as distinct from its occurrence in phrases such as "malik al-djabbar", which have been spelt as listed in Purwadaminta: KUB.)

(2) See v.273a.

(3) JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 111.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.101.

Stapel says that it was in this way that the expedition learnt of the Macassarese expedition against Buton (see note to v. 29d)⁽¹⁾ This makes it possible that by 'Bima dan Dompou' is meant the Radja of Bima and his son-in-law the Radja of Dompou (both places are in Sumbawa), who had accompanied the Macassar expedition. Although both these Radjas were captured by Speelman after the defeat of the Macassar army on Buton in January, 1667, the Radja of Bima later succeeded in escaping, killing 9 Dutchmen in the process,⁽²⁾ a performance that later ensured his being classified as a 'war criminal' by Speelman and exempted from the general amnesty that followed the Bungaja Treaty of November, 1667.⁽³⁾

78b sehari semalam

The Macassar emissaries (delegates and interpreters) came on board the "Tertholen" (Speelman's flagship) on December 20th, 1666. Speelman refused to let them go back but kept them on board until the return of his own emissary to the Sultan of Gowa. Only when the latter was safely on board did Speelman allow the Macassar delegation return - on the afternoon of the 21st.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.102.

(2) DAG, 22nd July, 1669 contains an interesting letter from the Radja of Bima to the Governor-General containing the downright phrase '..... ende doen heb ick negen Nederlanders doot gesteecken om myn vrydom te bekomen....' p.371.)

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.151-152, p.242.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.101-102.

79d Garasi'

Garassi', a village at the mouth of the Djéné Berang, south of the trading centre (the modern Macassar).

80a Welanda

This was "Pieter de tolcq", no stranger to Macassar. He went ashore on the 20th December and was back on board the next morning after having delivered his letter to the Sultan. (1)

80b Udjung Karang

Probably at the mouth of the Berang River.

81c bura'né

"Bura'né" is the Macassarese for 'man(ly)' (Malay "djantan"), and 'anak bura'né' may simply be a rendering of the Malay 'anak djantan', either literally ('male)child(ren) or with the meaning of 'a person with "guts"'. A simpler explanation would be to take 'bura'né' as the name of a locality ('anak Bura'né' being translated as: inhabitants of Bura'né), but although Bura'né is found as a placename, I have not been able to find any 'Bura'né' on the route that 'Pieter de tolcq' must have taken.

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.101-102.

83a Disuruh batja

According to Speelman's emissary, the letter to Hasanuddin was read by the Sultan of Tallo'. (1)

84d kita pula disuruhnja tunduk

The Sultan of Gowa had summed up Speelman's letter correctly.

86d nadjisnja

This is offensive language but in fact, when the envoy did return on board, he complained of being cursed and called a "Hollantse hond". (2)

87d tiada mufakat

Speelman concluded in fact ".....dat de Coning en grooten geensints van meninge waeren om haer te verootmoedigen....." and officially declared war on Macassar. (3)

88c bedil

Speelman did, in fact, fire off a volley, as a sign that the VOC had declared war on Macassar. (4)

89b bermimpi puasa

I take this to refer to the Malay beliefs connected with the "lailatu'l-qadr" (cf. Qur'ān, Sura 97) e.g.

(1) Stapel: HBV, p. 102.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p. 102.

(3) DAG, entry under 11 April, 1667 (p.259.)

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.102.

"... there is a certain brief moment during that night when any prayer from the faithful is heard and any request made to God is literally granted. The blessed moment, it is said, is marked by miraculous occurrences in the surrounding world of nature..... The spectacle may be a spiritual illusion, but it has indeed been seen by many blessed souls, and prayers made during this brief moment are known to have been literally answered and granted."⁽¹⁾ My translation is intended to convey the effect of 'spiritual illusion' and wish-fulfilment.

93d bain

Arabic "bā'in" (clear, definite).

94d dibakarnya rumah beberapa buah

Not including Bantaéng, Speelman burnt some 30 to 40 Macassar villages.⁽²⁾ The Macassar Court Diary records under December 23rd: "Kalumpang kéké is burnt by Tu-nisombaja" (i.e. Radja Palakka).⁽³⁾

The expedition landed at Bantaéng at dawn on Christmas Day, 1666, and after a short battle, defeated the enemy and burnt the place.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Zainu'l-'Abidin: FES, p.98. This writer says that the "lailatu'l-qadr" usually occurs on the 27th of Ramadān (malam tudjuh likur), but other writers merely say that it can occur any night in the last half of the fasting month (see e.g. Husain: ICH, p.183.)

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.105.

(3) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.125.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.104.

96b pahanja luka

Speelman records that Palakka was "... in 't dick van syn been gequetst, soo dat hy moste afgeleyt worden". (1)

The Macassar Court Diary reports: Tu-nisombaya (Palakka: C.S.) burns Bantaeng and receives a spear-wound. (2)

98a Sampai ke Buton

The fleet anchored off Buton on January 1st, 1667. (3)

98b memasang meriam

The bombardment seems to have lasted only two days; on the third day the Macassarese asked for an armistice. (4)

98b legah dan leguh

Wilkinson: MED (under "legoh") gives only "legoh dan legah" as a compound form. Kern: ASH, p.231 (correcting Rusconi's transcription "laguh-lagah") points out that in Bandjarese Malay sja'irs, the regular form is "lagah-laguh". In romanising the word I have kept the Riau-Johore pronunciation.

99b Keraéng Bonto Maranu

Karaéng Bonto Marannu left Macassar on 23rd October, 1666 at the head of an army of over 10,000 men, to conquer

(1) DAG: 11th April, 1667 (p.260)

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.126.

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.105.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.106-109.

Buton. His generalship versus the Dutch appears to have been poor. After a short but fierce encounter on January 1st, 1667, he withdrew his army from its well-fortified position along the coast and moved inland, setting up camp on a hill. However, after a day of bombardment from the Dutch cannon, he sent envoys to treat for peace on January 3rd, and on January 4th agreed to a virtually unconditional surrender (with the sequel touched on in v.126). Although captured by the Dutch, he escaped, (breaking his parole),⁽¹⁾ and rejoined the Macassar forces in time to take part in the expedition that put down the premature Bugis rising in June, 1667 (see v.176). Speelman was particularly incensed at his escape and expressly excluded him from the general amnesty that followed the signing of the Treaty of Bungaya in November 1667.⁽²⁾ After the final end of hostilities in 1669, he went first to Bantam and later to East Java, where, with what was virtually a pirate fleet, he continued to harass Speelman and the VOC, by assisting Truna Jaya in his efforts to conquer Mataram.⁽³⁾

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.141.

(2) See Articles 15 and 28 of the Treaty (Heeres: CDN, p.375; p.379-380).

(3) Stapel: CJS, p.85.

99c Keraéng Peté'né'

Karaéng Pattedé'né', of whom little is known beyond his death in the action described here.⁽¹⁾ After the fighting at Buton was over, Speelman sent to Batavia various hostages, among them the "wees van Crain Pateete".⁽²⁾ It seems very likely that 'Pateete' here is an attempt to render the Macassarese "Pattedé'né'".

105b peluru baling-baling

Wilkinson: MED appears to recognise only the form "bulang-baling", but there can be no doubt of its meaning here.

106a Keraéng Tompong

Karaéng Tomponga. Apparently the son of Karaéng Pattedé'né'. Little seems to be known of him apart from his subsequent death (in the fighting that broke out after the Bungaja Treaty). The Macassar Court Diary records his death (in its usual laconic way) on 30th October, 1668 with the words: "Karaéng Tomponga has his head struck off".⁽³⁾

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- (1) He is mentioned also by Matthes and Ligtvoet. See Ligtvoet: DVG, p.105 (entry under 3rd October, 1644).
 (2) DAG, entry under 30th October, 1667 (p.371).
 (3) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.129.

108d tunggul putih

One of the Macassar 'High Command' on Buton, the Radja of Bima, wrote "Ten tyde, wanneer alle de Macassaerse prauwen, die buyten des Macassaers pagger laegen, verbrandt waeren, soo is Radja Bima buyten syn waghtplaets gegaen naer de plaets van Crain Bonto Marana, die rhede al gesanten afgesonden hadt, soodat Radja Bima oock gelast heeft een witte vaen op te steecken..."⁽¹⁾

109d Mandar

The territory around the Gulf of Mandar (North of Macassar). Originally a confederacy of (nine) states, each with its own king or "Mara'dia", of whom the most important was the Mara'dia of Balangnipa.⁽²⁾

111a turun kekapal

When Karaeng Bonto Marannu and the Radjas of Bima and Luwu' came down from their camp on the hill to sue for peace (on the morning of January 4th), Speelman had them brought on board the "Nuysenborg" so that negotiations could be carried on in private.⁽³⁾

113a Mara'dia

The title given to the rulers of the Mandar states. Here it probably refers to the Mara'dia of Balangnipa.

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- (1) Dutch translation in DAG, 22 July, 1669 (p.367).
 (2) ENI: under 'Mandar'.
 (3) Stapel: HBV, p.108.

114a Keraéng Bonto Maranu naik kedarat

Stapel states that it was the Raja of Luwu' who went back on shore to superintend the disarmament of the Macassar army. Karaéng Bonto Marannu being transferred to the "Zirricksee".⁽¹⁾

118a mengjangkan djagung

The Macassarese had little love for the Butonese, whom they regarded as cowardly traitors (cf. e.g. v.213d). There may be a reference here to the worship of Déwi Seri, the goddess of agriculture and fertility,⁽²⁾ in which case the remark falls into line as a jeer by the Muslim Macassarese at the hold such non-Islamic beliefs have upon the nominally Muslim Butonese.

118b turun merampung

After the Macassar surrender, the King of Buton advised Speelman to kill all the prisoners. It is likely that some degree of retaliation was carried out by the Buton.⁽³⁾

119a mengjangkan ubi

Visting Buton in 1616, that paladin of the English East India Company, John Jourdain, noted of the Butonese that "The greatest parte of their foode is upon fishe and rootes

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.109
 (2) cf. Goris: BAL, p.38.
 (3) Stapel: HBV, p.110.

called ombis, which they eate in lieu of rice and bread, and is good either rost or boyled, and is very good foode; our men would rather eate them then rice. This roote doth somethinge resemble a pottato roote."⁽¹⁾

120a Radja Bala' Nipah

The Mara'dia of Bala(ng)nipa, the head of the Mandar confederacy.

121a gerak

I take this to be some sort of extra-sensory perception and translate accordingly.

121b belah

Here apparently in the sense of 'breaking out', i.e. escaping. At Palakka's urgent request, Speelman had at first agreed to grant the Mandar contingent in the Macassar army their freedom, on condition that they came over to the Dutch. The Mandarese were therefore allowed to spend the night on Buton. During the night there was a rainstorm under cover of which the Mara'dia and an escort made their escape by boat and succeeded in getting back to Mandar. After which the remaining Mandarese were condemned to the same fate as the other prisoners (see v. 126). The Mara'dia

(1) Jourdain: JOU, p.291. See also *ibid.*, p.287-288.

was later killed in the fighting at Galésong some seven months later. (1)

124d habis mendjelus

Up to the time of their leader's escape, the Mandar contingent in the captured Macassar army had been treated as potential allies (and not, like the Macassarese, cast away on 'Verwinnaerseiland' to die of starvation.) After the flight of the Mara'dia, thus breaking his parole, they were treated as unreliable and condemned to the same fate as the Macassarese. I take it that the line is spoken by Palakka (or some other VOC leader) and addressed to the Mandarese, i.e. 'Since you (Mandarese) have given us so much cause for resentment, you leave us no choice but to 'pay you back' for it. The word "djelus" is not given in Wilkinson: MED, but occurs in Purwadaminta: KUB (as a Djakartan word) meaning "iri hati, tjemburu".

125a Bima Sumbawa

Bima is, of course, the biggest town on the island of Sumbawa, but the name is also used as a cover term for East Sumbawa, together with the islands between Sumbawa and Flores and the Western part of Flores (called Manggarai).

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.110, p.147.

The text probably refers to the troops of the Radjas of Bima and Dompu (see note to v. 76c).⁽¹⁾

125c punggawa

In Macassarese (and Bugis) the word "punggawa" seems to have only military connotations.

126a serau

Wilkinson gives the meaning as 'noisy, rowdy', but that hardly fits the bill here. It is probably the Minangkabau 'serau' meaning 'disastrous, accursed' (see M. Thaib: KBM).

126b banjaklah Mengkasar dibuangnja kepulau

This was Speelman's solution of the problem of what to do with his prisoners. After the Bugis in the Macassar force had been incorporated under Palakka's command, there were still over 5,000 prisoners left. There were not ships enough to take them with Speelman on his visit to the 'Eastern Districts', or to send them back to Batavia, while to entrust them to the King of Buton would probably have resulted in their being massacred.⁽²⁾ Speelman therefore decided to leave them on a desert island in the Bay of Buton. However, the prisoners were only allowed to take with them a small stock of damp rice. It was obvious that apart from a few almost super-human swimmers, the prisoners would soon

(1) For the presence of the Radja of Dompu with the Macassar expedition, see e.g. DAG, entry under 22 July, 1669 (p.369), where (as "Radja Dempo") he is called "myn broeder" by the Radja of Bima.

(2) See note to v. 118b.

starve to death. In Speelman's own words "Wat siense dan anders voorhande dan een miserabele dood...?"

Nearly four months later a Dutch ship calling at the island (renamed by Speelman "Verwinnaerseiland") found that there was "niet één mens meer int leve, maer so veel dode lijcke opt Eylandt gevonde wierde, dat men om de grote stanck naulix nake conde..."

The Macassar prisoners have at least one memorial. The name 'Verwinnaerseiland' soon fell into disuse and to-day the island is to be found on the map as "Pulau Makas(s)ar".⁽¹⁾

127d Sambopu

Somb(a)opu, a district to the south of Sambung Djawa, in the (then) central part of the town of Macassar (i.e. along the coast, not in the town of Gowa) where the 'castle' (stockade) of the Sultan of Gowa stood.⁽²⁾

I take it that the Butonese are speaking euphemistically (and sarcastically) when they use the word 'disutjikan', particularly in view of the violent reaction the words provoke from Karaéng Tomponga (see next verse).

128d berkata besar

The expression seems rather weak and may derive partly from the need of an end rhyme in "-ar".

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.110-111

(2) Wieder: MCA, plates 115, 116 (in Vol.5) has a fine view of Sombaopu in 1638. It is reproduced on a smaller scale in Valentijn: ONO (plate 23).

130a Radja Lubu'

The Radja of Luwu', although a Bugis (see note to v.30b) was one of the leaders of the Macassar expedition against Buton.

After the Macassarese on Buton had surrendered, he apparently made his peace with Speelman and joined his compatriot Aru Palakka.⁽¹⁾

133a Kapitan Djepara

This is almost certainly Danckert van der Straeten, who until October 1666, had been the 'Opperhoofd' and Chief Merchant at Djapara. He returned to Batavia on October 27th and two days later Governor-General and Council passed a resolution "...den coopman, Danckaert van der Straaten, te gebruycken tot tweede persoon van de expeditied nae de Oosterse quartieren."⁽²⁾ As the Second-in-Command, van der Straeten took over command of the expedition when Speelman went for a brief 'rest cure' in June, 1668,⁽³⁾ and our sja^cir shows Speelman turning to him for advice (see v.306). He died on 8 September 1669, barely a month after the final defeat of Macassar.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) See DAG, entry under 22 July 1669 (p.370).
 - (2) DAG (1666) p.164, p.167.
 - (3) Stapel: CJS, p.51.
 - (4) Stapel: CJS, p.61.

134a Kapitan Djepon

This must be 'Capiteyn Pierre Dupon', although if it is, the author is again anticipating. Captain Dupon, who had previously served in Ceylon, was in command of a detachment of VOC troops on the island of Ambon and did not join the expedition until Speelman arrived there in May, 1667 - some four months after the Council-of-war described here. (1)

134b Maluku

The author of the sja'ir often uses the word 'Meluku' to refer specifically to Ternaté, e.g. 'Radja Meluku' (v.388c). As a matter of interest, Speelman did obtain reinforcements from the Moluccas. (2)

134b Ambon

Speelman also obtained military reinforcements from Ambon. (3)

135b ke Djakatra

Speelman sent the "Pimpel" to Batavia (where it arrived on April 11th, 1667) to inform the authorities there of his victory at Buton, (4) but there is no record of any other vessel being despatched until his return from his visit to

(1) DAG, entry under 23rd August, 1666 (p.138); Stapel: HBV, p.123.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.122.

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.123.

(4) DAG, entry under April 11th, 1667 (p.258-261).

the 'Eastern Districts'.

'Djakatra' is, of course, the old form of 'Djakarta' (cf. Macassarese "Djakattara").

136a *berbahagi dua*

Aru Palakka and his Bugis, together with a detachment of Dutch troops remained behind to guard Buton and to liquidate the undesirable elements reported to have gathered at "dat leelijke roofnest" - Tibore (on the northern coast of the island of Muna). Captain Joncker was also to have joined in this latter expedition but, as the result of a storm, landed up at Ambon - his birthplace (!) - nearly two months later, on April 17th.⁽¹⁾

136d *dipantai Maluku kapal mengambang*

Speelman arrived at Ternaté on 14th March, 1667.⁽²⁾

Wilkinson: MED under "ambang" gives only 'to float in (mid-) air' and, strangely enough, makes no mention of its basic meaning - 'to float'.

138c *Radja Ternaté*

Sultan Mandar Sjah (in Ternatean 'Mandarsaha'). He had succeeded to the throne of Ternaté in 1648, thanks largely to the support he received from the VOC (who saw in

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.117, p.118 (footnote 1).

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.118.

him, to quote Heeres's frank words "een gemakkelijker te hanteeren werktuig"),⁽¹⁾ than the two other claimants, Kaitjili' Manila and Kaitjili' Kalamata.⁽²⁾

Until the 17th century, Ternat  had been the leading Indonesian state in the area and as Macassar grew stronger and stronger, subjecting more and more of the states that had hitherto acknowledged the overlordship of Ternat , Mandar Sjah was only too pleased to assist the VOC (whose first 'mutual assistance' treaty with Ternat  dated back to 1607) in their campaign against Macassar (see also note to v.140a).

139b Amiral ada menanti di Buton

The author must be mistaken here as it was Speelman himself who visited Ternat , although Palakka and a Dutch force (under a comparatively junior officer) had been left behind at Buton to await Speelman's return.

139c Berbalik kita dari Ambon

This was, of course, what happened. After leaving Ternat  Speelman visited Ambon and arrived back at Buton on June 19th. The expedition attacked and stormed Banta ng on July 7th, the first action in the battle for Macassar.⁽³⁾

(1) Heeres: CDN, p.10.
 (2) See note to v.181d.
 (3) Stapel: HBV, p.131-132.

140a Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah

The King of Ternat  (see note to v.138c). 'Tjili' is short for "Kaitjili'", Ternat an for 'Prince'.⁽¹⁾ 'Kelana' occurs in many Malay titles, e.g. "Datu' Kelana" (of Sungai Ujong, Negeri Sembilan)⁽²⁾ "Djawa" is possibly a corruption of "Djaya" (cf. the title "Kelana Djaya Putera").⁽³⁾

141c ke Ambon

The author of the sja'ir would seem to be at fault here. Speelman and the fleet arrived at Ambon and left (for Buton) on June 6th.

141d Kapitan Djongkor

Although Speelman had originally decided that Joncker should stay behind, Joncker had, by misadventure (?) reached Ambon on April 17th, 1667 and was awaiting Speelman when the latter arrived there over a month later.

Born on the island of Manipa (between Buru and Seram) in about 1630, Joncker entered the service of the VOC under De Vlamingh van Outshoorn in 1656. He served in India and Ceylon, gaining the rank of Captain. He took part in the VOC's campaigns on the West coast of Sumatra in 1666 and no sooner had these been successfully con-

(1) Heeres: CDN (Part 1), p.75.
 (2) Wilkinson: MED (under 'Kelana').
 (3) Ali: TNF, passim.

cluded than he returned to Batavia to join Speelman's expedition. He served in many subsequent campaigns (in 1679 he succeeded in trapping Truna Jaya) before settling down in Batavia in the district that still bears his name ('Padjongkoran' - east of Tandjung Periuk). Despite his European-sounding name, Joncker was a Muslim and on suspicion of being one of the leaders of a Muslim movement to expel the Dutch from Batavia, he was cast into prison where he died in 1689. (1)

142b kura-kura

It was by kura-kura that Speelman travelled from Ternaté to Batjan (en route to Ambon). The biggest kura-kuras were about a hundred foot long, carried over a hundred men and were fitted with cannon. (2)

142d para

Although not common in Malay, the word is given in Wilkinson as meaning 'sentry-go', 'guard duty', which fits the context well. It is just possible that it is the Macassarese 'para', meaning 'together', 'in common', in which case it could be taken here to mean 'to assemble', 'to gather together', which would give probably better sense. As the author uses Macassarese words very

(1) ENI, under Jonker

(2) See Valentijn: ONO (IInde Deel), Plate XLII (facing p. 184), for a good illustration of a 'cora-cora'.

sparingly, I have, however, preferred the former meaning.

144d chalifah

Although generally associated with the successors of the Prophet - the 'Caliphs' - the word has a much wider significance. "In the religious orders, especially among the Kadiiriya, the Khalifa is the delegate of the Shaikh of the order and is invested with a certain amount of his powers and represents him in countries remote from the parent zawiya." (1) Snouck Hurgronje defines 'khalifah' as "a spiritual successor to the founder of the order". (2) Used with the following 'fana' (see Introduction), it seems possible that the author intends to suggest - as far as such a matter could be suggested openly - that Hasanuddin occupied a position of some importance in one of the Sufi orders (see also v.14c and note).

It has already been suggested that the author of the sja'ir, Hasanuddin's secretary, was well acquainted with the works and doctrines of Hamzah Fansuri, a member of the Qadirijjah. The interest shown by the Macassar royal family in Sufism is shown by the career of Sjaich Jusuf - himself possibly a relation of Hasannudin and certainly a contemporary - who was 'al-tāḍj al-chalwatī al-maqāsarī'. (3)

(1) EIS (under 'khalifa').

(2) Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, vol. 2, p.251.

(3) See Cense, VSJ, p. 42-60.

145b kedua negeri
Gowa and Tallo'.

146c wasil

The ms. has "w-a-s-i-l" but this is probably merely one of the many faulty (i.e. non-Arabic) spellings of Arabic words, in this case, of "wāsil". (1)

In Shi'ite Islam, the 'chalifah' (see note to v.144d) is usually termed the 'Imam' and is presumed to possess special powers enabling him to communicate directly with God (waṣla). The strong influence of Shi'ism upon Sufism, particularly in Indonesia, has brought about a tendency to attribute to the head of a Sufi order (the 'chalifah') the same powers as those possessed by the Shi'ite imam, among them the ability to communicate directly with God. People possessing such powers are 'wāsil'. (2)

146d 'arif

Here probably in the sense of 'ʿarif bi'llah', i.e. versed in (Sufi) wisdom.

146d mukamil

The text is vocalised as above and not, as one would

(1) See note to v.146d (under 'mukamil').

(2) The more extreme form of Sufism believes that any true "lover" can attain union with God (see EIS, under "SHI'A").

expect, 'mukam(m)al'. The form 'mukam(m)il' is almost certainly that used by Hamzah Fansuri in a verse that bears a striking resemblance to the verse here.⁽¹⁾ The form is found in other 17th century Sufi writings in Malay.⁽²⁾

The verse, containing as it does, such Sufi technical terms as 'chalifah', 'kamil', 'wasil', 'arif' and 'mukamil' seems to suggest that Hasanuddin was a Sufi mystic of quite high standing (see also note to v.14).

The similarity of the verse to similar verses of Hamzah Fansuri however causes one to refrain from any definite conclusion. Was praise of his abilities as a Sufi part of the conventional eulogy of one's patron or were perhaps the rulers of 17th century Indonesian states ipso facto high-ranking members of the Sufi orders?

147c 'alam

The author's end-rhymes show a certain wordly resignation.

148c Minangkabau

It is not certain who Hasanuddin's mother was.

(1) Doorenbos: GHP, p. 70 (see also 'Introduction'.)
 (2) Johns: MSU, p.38.

Speelman apparently believed that she was a Bugis commoner (and that Hasanuddin was not therefore entitled to the throne of Gowa). Ligtvoet however, quotes a Macassarese account that repeats the point about her being a commoner but gives her birthplace as Laikang, in the Turatéa area (south of Macassar).⁽¹⁾

So far as can be ascertained, there is no record that suggests she was of Minangkabau origin. As the author was himself 'a Malay of Macassarese descent', it is possible that the line contains some wishful thinking. The Muslim 'Apostle of Macassar', Datu' ri Bandang, was of 'Malay' or Minangkabau descent, and this may have given the Malays/Minangkabauers some prestige in Macassar.⁽²⁾

149d kebengkalan

Purwadaminta: KUB gives "bengkal, kebengkalan - kemengkalan tersedak", suggesting that the wish of the author is to see the Bugis choke to death.

150a Patang Birang

Unknown. One can merely deduce from the verses here that he was a Bugis who brought news of the Bugis uprising to Gowa. The name (as 'Pata(m) Birang') certainly has a

{1} Ligtvoet: DVG, p.112.

{2} Eerdmans: HLG, p.32.

Bugis ring about it.

150b memalas pulang

I am not certain what 'memalas' means. It may merely strengthen the following 'pulang', or it may contain some idea of revenge (as the Macassarese equivalent "balasa" does).

I take it that the incident referred to here and in the next verse is the Bugis uprising of February, 1667. Although Speelman had urged the Bugis to wait until his return from visit Eastwards so that their revolt would coincide with the Dutch attack on Macassar, the Bugis (incited by the ever-impatient Aru Palakka) rose prematurely and were easily defeated, as the sja'ir goes on to tell.

150c pawang

The following line seems to give these pawangs such a degree of authority, that I have hesitated to translate the word by its usual modern equivalent of "medicine-man". The word possibly denotes here a "medicine-man" with definite executive functions, holding a fairly high place in the tribal hierarchy, rather like the situation found in some of the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula where the tribal head (Batin) is both chief and medicine-man.

Winstedt: TMM, p.9-10 quotes the case of the State Shaman of Perak who bore the title of "Sultan Muda" and was of full royal descent.

159b Sultan berangkat

The Macassar Court Diary records under 30th May, 1667: "Tuwammenang-ri-lampanna (the Sultan of Tallo': C.S.) and Karaéng Léngkése' go to Boné to attack Matinrowe-ri-Bukaka" (the King of Boné, La-Madarämmä: C.S.).(1)

159b ketika seri

The Macassarese "kotika" (Malay: ketika) are five in number, named after various Indian deities. As one would expect from our sja'ir, 'ketika seri' is one of the two lucky kotikas (as is illustrated in Matthes: MBK.)

160c seperti sakai

The point being, I assume, that the king has as many 'hulubalang' attending upon him as an ordinary nobleman would have 'sakai'.

160d seperti mempelai

This and the end-rhyme of the preceeding line ("sakai") suggests that there might be some reminiscence

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.126.

here of Hamzah Fansuri's

"rupanja élok seperti mempelai
rupamu ketji' seperti sakai". (1)

162a pélang

Although Wilkinson: MED (under "pelang") merely says "an old type of trading-ship", the description here is very similar to the description of the vessel usually called "bélang", viz. "een op de Kei-eilanden thuis behoorende groote roei- en zeil-prauw, waarvan de stevens spits oploopen en meestal fraai besneden en beschilderd zijn. Ze is de staatsieprauw der Inlandsche hoofden en wordt bij voorkomende plechtige gelegenheden met vlaggetjes opgetuigd. Het betrokken hoofd en zijn gasten nemen in het midden op een stellage plaats, de roeiers pagaaien op den rhythmus dooreenige spelers op slaginstrumenten, tifa-gong, aangegeven, terwijl op de voorplecht een paar mannen dansen uitvoeren". (2)

162b terus r mannen dansen uitvoeren". (2)

I take it that 'terus' here emphasizes the fretted nature of the carving. The ms. might be read 'turus' (it has 't-r-ū-s') but the feeling for the 'caesura' shown by the author of the sja'ir suggests that the

(1) Doorenbos: GHP, p.25.

(2) ENI (Supplement V), under "Vaartuigen".

normal division of the line (and its syntax) is

ukirnja terus/berkerawang

with 'berkerawang' here used as parallelism.

162c perada terbang

'Perada' is the Portuguese 'prata' (silver), used in Malay for thin plating of all sorts, particularly gold foil and gold leaf.

'Terbang' I can only conjecture to mean 'giving the appearance of moving in the air, glittering' (of something sprinkled or scattered catching the light).

162d berkilat tjahajanja amat tjemerlang

The barge they sat in, in fact,

"..... like a burnish'd throne,

burn'd on the water; the poop was beaten gold....."

164a Dua ratus enam puluh orang berkajuh

The number seems excessive but not necessarily impossible.

165b musta'ib

See 'Spelling of the mss.'

166b Maros

Maros (Macassarese: Marusu') is about 40 km. north-east of Macassar. From Macassar to Maros the journey

could be made by boat; somewhere along the river Maros the party would have to strike across country to get into Bugis territory.

167d Radja Mampu

This probably refers to the King of Boné (Boni), La-Madarämmä.⁽¹⁾ He had been toppled from the throne of Boné as a result of the Macassar conquests of the 1640's but, in an attempt to conciliate the Bugis and prevent them from rallying to Aru Palakka, the Macassarese had sent Karaéng Léngkésé' to restore him to the throne in February, 1667. When Palakka's envoys tried to stir up the Bugis (with some success) the now elderly La-Madarämmä at first refused to join them and sent messengers (cf. the 'Patang Birang' of the sja'ir, v. 150-151) to the Sultan of Gowa to warn him. Later on however, La-Madarämmä changed his mind and joined in the rising against the Macassarese. Not surprisingly, the premature rising was put down fairly easily by the Macassarese expedition under the Sultan of Tallo', as the verses here relate.⁽¹⁾

170b gua

Discussing the geological formation of South-West

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.125-126 (see also note to v.150b and v.159b).

Celebes, van Heekeren notes that "Along the entire foot of the limestone range...there exists a series of caves at a height of 30 m. above sea level." (1)

173d dua kali

If the speaker is La-Madarämmä (see note to v.167d), he certainly deserved the twitting he gets here for his 'Vicar of Bray' conduct. According to Stapel however, La-Madarämmä had escaped to Luwu' after the failure of the rising. (2)

175b Patiro

Pa(t)tiru a coastal town in the Gulf of Boné, south-east of the town of Boné.

175d tjilo-tjilo

Macassarese (and Bugis) 'tjilo-tjilo' - hats made of plaited bamboo. (3)

176d putera marhum

He was the son, if not of the Sultan, at least of the Sultan's chief minister, Karaéng Sumanna'. (4)

178b perkenan

The use of "perkenan" (instead of the now usual

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- (1) van Heekeren: STO, p.49
 (2) Stapel: HBV, p.130 (footnote 1.)
 (3) Matthes: MHW (under "tjilo".)
 (4) Ligetvoet: DVG, p.108.

"berkenan") may conceivably be dialectic, or somewhat archaic, but the data is too restricted to allow of any definite conclusion being drawn. There are, moreover, indications that the author/copyist did not always differentiate very much between the two forms, e.g. "beroléh pangkat" (v.16d), but "aku peroléh" (v.76b.)

179a Daéng Marupa

Daéng Maruppa. He is mentioned in the Macassar Court Diary as divorcing his wife on May 14th, 1674,⁽¹⁾ but apart from this little is known of him.

181d Tjili Kalimata

Kaitjili' Kalamata. One of the three claimants to the throne of Ternaté and as such the enemy of the VOC (see note to v.138c.) Driven from his homeland, he had settled in Macassar and by 1664 had married and divorced a half-sister of the Sultan of Tallo'.⁽²⁾ He fought against Speelman until the signing of the Bungaja Treaty in November 1667, but remained loyal to the Dutch in the fighting that followed the Treaty.⁽³⁾ He died in Macassar on 23rd February 1676.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.139.

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.122.

(3) Heeres: CDN, p.411, van Dam: BOC, p.247-248.

(4) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.141.

182b terlalu tahu akan kerdja berperang

As well he might. He had been fighting his brother, Mandar Sjah, and the VOC for close on twenty years. (1)

182c tunggulnja

It is interesting that the distinctive nature of Kalamata's banner should (of all others) be singled out for special mention in the sja'ir. A letter from one of the Dutch commanders who, together with the Radja of Soppéng, was fighting against the Macassarese, noted that "...Radia Soping presumeert dat Callematte bij haer (the enemy) soude wesen, naer 't gesichte van een vendel dat tegen het quartier van radja Soping overstaet dat zijn soude wesen..." (quoted by Stapel: HBV, p.142, footnote 2.)

182d turang-berturang

I take this to mean 'forming a pattern' (see Wilkinson: MED), i.e. the smoke from the muskets appeared to add a fresh element to the design of the flag.

189c jang mastürî

The text has "n-î-ng-m-s-t-r-î". To conjecture one dot too many in the "n-î-ng" and reduce it to "î/j-ng" is

(1) Heeres: CDN, p.10.

not too difficult, but "m-s-t-r-î" is puzzling. One might perhaps conjecture a dialect form of "bestari",⁽¹⁾ but according to the lexicons, "bestari" is applied exclusively to persons, never to things. The shape of the word (particularly the initial "m-" and the final "-î") suggest - a little too emphatically even - a word of Arabic derivation, and I can do no better than conjecture "mastürî" as a hyper-correct, Malay-Arabic derivative of "mastür" (covered, hidden, veiled) - a word which, although not common, has been used in Malay (see Wilkinson: MED, under "mastur".)

I have taken it that, like most sensible people (cf. "singah berteduh" in the following verse) the Sultan of Tallo' would prefer the shade to the sun and would be sheltered from the direct rays of the sun, perhaps by a parasol, that essential ingredient of royalty in the east (cf. v.191d).

191c pakur

The ms. has 'p-k(g)-r'. I can only conjecture 'pakur' (Macassarese: pangkuru'), a type of small craft

(1) A lowering of the velic in pronouncing voiced bilabial stops is found in many (Peninsular) Malay dialects, both on the West coast (e.g. in the Province Wellesley area - writer's own observation) and on the East coast (see Brown: SCM, p. 168.) And is the "tiang mendera" (for "tiang bendera") found in Munsji Ibrahim's Journal really a misprint? (Ibrahim: KPI, p.57.)

found in Macassar waters. The pakur is often called 'lepa-lepa'. (1)

191d berla'lang

The Macassarese 'la'lang' - parasol, which as in other Eastern countries, was an emblem of royalty. (2)

193c Inggeris

The English East India Company had had a Factory at Macassar since 1613 and naturally supported the Macassarese against the VOC, sometimes with gunpowder but more often with exhortations. (3) Just as the VOC's expedition against Macassar in 1660 (under van Dam) had as one of its main aims the expulsion of the Portuguese, (4) so Speelman's expedition had as one of its aims the expulsion of the English (see article 27 of the Treaty of Bungaja). (5)

195b Sungai Garasi'

I take this to refer to the southern mouth of what is now called the Bérang river. The plan of Macassar made in 1638 (6) shows to the south of Sombaopu a river

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- (1) Noteboom: VMA, p.27, p.29 (the article contains a photograph of a pakur, plate 7).
 (2) Matthes: MHW (under "la'lang".)
 (3) Bassett: EIC, passim.
 (4) Heeres: CDN, p.170 et seq.
 (5) Heeres: CDN, p.379.
 (6) Wieder: MCA, plates 115-116.

"die men met vaartuygen, van 5, 6, 7 a 8 voet diep gaande, kan gebruyken" which I take to be our 'Sungai Garasi'.

200a (di)karunia

The modern form would be 'dika^runiaⁱ' and one might expect this form here. However, the copyist (who is otherwise fairly punctilious about giving the affixial '-i' graphic representation, has no '-i', either here or in the only three other cases where the verbal form of the word is intended (v.201b, v.202b and v.453b). I have taken it that this indicates a preference for the un-suffixed form which is, of course, far easier to pronounce.

201d tjintjin

The rhyme-scheme of this verse is obviously more visual than phonetic.

204a Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta

This probably refers to the return to Macassar of the VOC expedition in July, 1667.

204b fakir nin lagi diluar kota

It is not clear whether the author's absence from the 'fort' (he probably means the royal stockade at Sombaopu) was a matter of a few days or possibly for the

remainder of the campaign (up to the signing of the Bungaja Treaty in November, 1667). From the apparent confusion of facts that occurs in subsequent verses, (1) one would incline to the latter view.

205b djanganlah apa tuan menjumpah

The line is an 'obvious' one, but may just possibly owe something to Hamzah Fansuri's repeated:

"djanganlah apa saja disumpah". (2)

207a Belajarlah Welanda dari Buton

Speelman and the fleet left Ambon on 6 June 1667 reaching Buton on 19 June. They left Buton a week later. (3)

207b Bugis

Speelman sent Palakka on ahead to reconnoitre, and it was some time before contact could again be established with him. (4)

208a Si Tunderu' singgah di Patiro

Palakka's advance force of Bugis (see note to v.207b) had been dispersed by storms. Speelman sent Captain Poleman with a company of Dutch soldiers and two

(1) See e.g. note to v.306d.

(2) Doorenbos: GHP, (e.g. p. 29, p.33.)

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.128.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p.128-129.

pieces of artillery to re-establish contact with Palakka,⁽¹⁾ and restore morale among the Bugis. According to one source, before Poleman caught up with him, Palakka, after landing at Tiro (near Bantaéng) had moved on to Pati-ro where he attempted unsuccessfully to storm a Macassarese force entrenched at Panju.⁽²⁾ On July 6th, 1667, Poleman eventually made contact with Palakka at Kasi.⁽³⁾ In the meantime, Speelman and the fleet had arrived at Bantaéng on July 4th and had stormed the town on July 8th. Palakka and Poleman therefore decided to march overland to join the main force at Bantaéng.

208b menghimpunkan Bugis

In view of the suppression of the recent uprising and the dispersal of Palakka's force, it was not surprising that the number of Bugis rallying to Palakka's standard was, at least at first, not all that had been hoped.⁽⁴⁾

210a Welandá sampai ke Bantaéng

On July 4th, 1667.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.129.

(2) APA, p. 92-94 (relying, apparently, on 'inlandsche bronnen').

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.133.

(4) Stapel: HBV, p. 133.

(5) Stapel: HBV, p. 131.

210d meriam berkantjing

The 'kantjing' are possibly the lug-holes (fitted to the heavier pieces of artillery to facilitate transport.)

214 dimata-mata

I take this to mean 'by direct attack', i.e. by men who dared to attack them 'menentang mata'. Gibson-Hill says (of forts in Sumatra, Malaya and Borneo): "... they were facades to be respected or taken by treachery. To attack them with gunpowder was in truth uncouth, and a clear breach of good taste." (1)

215b habislah orang di Bantaéng lari

Speelman stormed the town (whose defences had been strengthened since the assault in December, 1666) on July 8th, 1667, the Macassarese troops retreating towards Macassar. (2)

216a Keraéng Bonto Madjanang

The Macassar Court Diary records (under July 8th 1667): "A messenger from Karaéng Bonto Madjannang comes with the news that he has been attacked and defeated by the Dutch". (3)

(1) Gibson-Hill: CMD, p.147.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p. 131-132.

(3) Ligetvoet: DVG, p.127.

219a djila

The text has "ch-î-l". I conjecture 'djila' - glowing, lustrous. (1)

220a Belajarlâh Welanda dari Bantaéng

On the evening of July 20th.

220d Buton

There were, of course, Butonese troops assisting the VOC against their mutual enemy. (2)

220d Sula'

See note to v. 54d. After Speelman had sailed from Buton (see note to v. 207a), the Sultan of Ternaté remained behind for a few days to wait for the arrival of a number of Ternaté ships that were expected from the Sula islands. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that the Ternateans who accompanied their Sultan in the campaign against Macassar included at least a few from the Sulas.

221a Kapal berbéluk menudju kedarat

This possibly refers to the landing of a small detachment of troops at Laikang (Turatéa) who burnt a few houses and some rice-barns. (3)

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- (1) Wilkinson: MED (under "jilah"). Cf. Macassarese "tjilla'" - glow(ing), a ray (Matthes: MHW).
 (2) Stapel: HBV, p.138-139.
 (3) Stapel: HBV, p.134.

222a Sangat berani Radja Ternate

In the absence of any confirmatory evidence, the words should probably be taken as a conventional rather than spontaneous, tribute.

224b baluarti dan kota

Probably referring to the stockade at Sombaopu.

225a Udjung Pandang

The coastal district of Macassar, to the north of Sombaopu, where the English had their Factory.⁽¹⁾ The site of Fort Rotterdam.

229a dirantaikan

The text has "d-r-n-t-i-k-n", which I take to mean 'spreading quickly', i.e. from one person to another, as one link in a chain is connected to another. It is not a usual expression however, and Sir Richard Winstedt suggests a copyist's error for "dirampaikan" (widely disseminated and embroidered upon.)

229b seorang Minangkabau hamba tuturkan

Presumably because the author was still 'diluvar kota' (see note to v. 204a).

(1) cf. Valentijn: ONO, p.130.

230b Kapal mengambang dilaut negeri

The Dutch fleet anchored in the Macassar roads on 13th July, 1667.⁽¹⁾ The Macassar Court Diary records on that date: "The Dutch fleet, consisting of 17 ships, 20 djuwangans, 10 sloops and 41 smaller vessels, anchors in the roads."⁽²⁾

230d hendak turun beli-membeli

When the fleet arrived, emissaries of the Sultan of Gowa came out to the flag-ship bringing with them four sacks of gold and silver coin as compensation for the plundering of Dutch ships (and the killing of members of their crews) prior to the Speelman's expedition. Speelman accepted the money provisionally and, over a glass of wine, asked the emissaries to give his compliments to the Sultan and say that he would be obliged "indien hij mij belieffde met hoenders, eende ets. te voorsien".⁽³⁾

231a Bandan

Speelman did, in fact, use a Bandanese as his emissary on at least one occasion - at Bantaeng (see note to v.210a). On that occasion, the Bandanese was as unsuccessful as he is described as being here, and the

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.134.

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.127 (the Dutch text has "16 Julij", which is obviously a misprint - see the Macassarese text on p.28).

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.134-135.

Dutch had to take the town by storm.⁽¹⁾

233a Sipalman

The text here has "s-î-p-û-l-m-n", and although the context makes it clear that it is Speelman who is referred to here, one might (on the analogy "si Tunderu") read 'si Pulman'.

Of all Speelman's lieutenants in the Macassar campaigns, none was more outstanding than Christiaan Poleman (or 'Poolman', as it is sometimes spelt) whose actions certainly gave the Macassarese something to remember him by.⁽²⁾ Although I see no reason to prefer the reading "si Pulman" to "Sipalman", either here or anywhere else in the *sja'ir*, I think it not unlikely that the inhabitants of the South Celebes (including our author) found it difficult to distinguish between the famous deeds of the legendary 'Sipalman' and the legendary deeds of the famous 'si Pulman'.⁽³⁾

233c tuanku

I take it that the line is making fun of the Bandanese, who, in his fright, comes flying back to his master, addressing him in the most fulsome of terms.

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.131.

(2) see Stapel: HBV, p.133 (and footnote 3). cf. also notes to v.208a, 290a, 295a, 314a, 332a.

(3) The best account of Poleman and his career is that given in van Dam: BOC (Deel III), p.391 (footnote).

233d b'eta

One might perhaps see an attempt at 'dialect characterisation' here as "b'eta" is the normal 1st person singular pronoun in 'Ambonese' (including Bandanese) Malay. However, its use by such characters as Aru Palakka (v.32d etc.) and the son of the Senior Sjahbandar (v.372a) seems to suggest that it was in use over a fairly wide area of the Eastern archipelago (and without the honorific associations it now possesses.)

235b berbahasa Djawa

Probably referring to the Javanese "mendjangan" in v.233d.

237b bagong

I take this to be the Sundanese (and hence Djakartan)⁽¹⁾ "bagong" (pig). Although the eyes of a pig are generally considered as small, the expression (both Joncker and the author were Muslims) could scarcely be anything but an insult (cf. the use of Malay "babi").

242b mamang

Wilkinson: MED is not entirely satisfactory in his translation of the word. Purwadaminta: KUB gives

(1) Coolsma: SHW (under "bagong".)

"bingung, ketakutan".

248a Setelah terbitlah njata matahari

Stapel says that in the early morning of the 19th July, the enemy (i.e. the Macassarese: C.S.) unexpectedly began a heavy bombardment.⁽¹⁾

248b Seri Negeri

The most famous of the cannon possessed by the Macassarese is referred to by the Dutch as 'anak Makassar' and it is possibly this cannon that is referred to here as 'Macassar's Glory'. Certainly it would appear from Speelman's correspondence that 'anak Makassar' was placed on the North-west bastion (the 'groot bolwerk') where it would command the sea, to the west, and the land in the direction of Udjung Pandang, to the north. Crucq estimates that the cannon was 6 m. long with a calibre of about 40 cm. and fired a shot of some 48 lbs.⁽²⁾

248c sjamsu wa'l-qamari

I take it that the adjectival '-i' here is added in the interests of the rhyme scheme.

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.137.

(2) See Crucq: HKM, p.74-95 for a masterly discussion of 'anak Makassar' and other Macassar artillery. Incidentally, Crucq refutes Stapel's statement (CJS, p.58, note 1 - based upon Worm: OIP, p.108) that 'anak Makassar' remained in Batavia until c.1710.

249b kenalah kapal si la'nat Allah

The Macassarese concentrated their fire on Speelman's flag-ship, the 'Tertholen' and in a short space of time had succeeded in killing six and wounding twelve of those aboard her. (1)

250a Ki Naung

For 'Ki' as the 'title' of a cannon cf. the famous 'Ki Amuk' in Banten. (2)

251c Si Kongkong

Wilkinson gives 'kongkong' as an onomatopoeic word for the baying of hounds. In Macassarese 'kongkong' is, in fact, the word for 'dog'.

253a Pendjagur Besi

"Pandjaguru" is the Macassarese for 'fist'. Cf. the famous Djakarta cannon, "Si Pendjagur" (alias "Kjai Setama") that has the breech end in the shape of a huge clenched fist making what most people would consider to be a rude gesture. (3)

254a Tjap Kapal

Named because it left its mark on the ships it was aimed at?

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- (1) Stapel: HBV, p.137.
 (2) Crucq: BAN, p.359-391.
 (3) Crucq: HKB, p.103-129 (the photograph facing p.125 shows the clenched fist very clearly.)

255a Kampung Tjina

I cannot trace this on the map. Valentijn refers to the district immediately north of Sombaopu as "De Noord zyde van de Stad, soo by Macassaren als andere Natien bewoont", ⁽¹⁾ and if, as seems likely, he includes Chinese in his 'other races', Kampung Tjina might tentatively be located to the north of the royal stockade.

256d mistar

Wilkinson: MED gives only "ruling-board" and "(ruled) line". The idea of 'lining up' an artillery target, probably with the help of some form of range-finder, seems a fairly natural extension of the basic meaning, and I have translated accordingly.

258c melata-lata

The morning after the bombardment, Speelman informed his officers that the previous day had seen one-third of their available gun-powder consumed, in firing off 4000 shots, so that there would seem to be ⁽²⁾ no exaggeration by the author here.

(1) Valentijn: ONO, plate 23.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.137.

The translation here is based on phrases such as "air melata", used to describe the swift flow of water from a water-fall. (1)

262d waswis

The text is so vocalized. I cannot find this form in any of the dictionaries and it may well be a poetic improvisation.

263a Mister Ba'il

James Bale. Arriving in Banten in 1661, Bale went to the Macassar Factory a year or two later. When his Chief, William Turner, finally left Macassar in 1665, Bale succeeded him as Chief Factor. After the Dutch victory in 1667, all the factors were taken prisoner by the Dutch and sent to Batavia. Bale was released in May, 1668 and went to the Factory at Banten but he was dead before the year was out. (2)

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- (1) Wilkinson: MED; Purwadaminta: KUB, both under "lata".
- (2) JAV, Vol. 3-5, passim. The English East India Company in a memorial to the Secretary of State (10th May 1669) complained that his death was caused by the "barbarous inhumanity" of the Dutch (Sainsbury: CCM, p.194-195) but this seems merely a propaganda point (cf. Stapel: HBV, p.188.)

264a Mister Pil

Henry Pearle. He arrived in Macassar probably in 1659. When Bale became Chief Factor, Pearle became the Second Factor (hence 'Feitur jang ketjil', cf. 'Tuan besar' and 'Tuan ketjil'). With Bale, he was taken prisoner by the Dutch and eventually released in May, 1668. A year later he had become a private trader making a profitable voyage to, amongst other places, Sukadana. In November, 1670, he left Banten to sail back to England but died a few days later while the ship was still ying off the Bantam coast.⁽¹⁾

265a lama

Bale, the Chief Factor, had been in Macassar since about 1662. Pearle seems to have been stationed in Macassar since 1659. The author would seem to be fully entitled to use the word 'lama', particularly in those short-lived days.

265b menembakkan meriam dua puluh putjuk

When the Dutch arrived in Macassar in July, 1667, Speelman was told that the English Factors had fortified their Factory and had mounted three cannon on it.⁽²⁾ The

(1) JAV, Vol. III-V, passim.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.135. The information was given to Speelman by the captain of a Portuguese ship.

The author is perhaps using 'meriam' as a generic term to include 'rentaka' (swivel-guns).

266a Entji' Maris

Unknown. The Macassarese 'Antji' is the regular 'title' for 'peranakans'.

266d mati

See note to v. 249b.

268c dua tempayan ubatnja habis sekali

See note to v. 258c.

269a Datu' Pasar

Unknown. Probably another of the 'Malay' community.

271a hulubalang Tjampa

It is possible that 'Tjampa' here refers to Seri Amar Diradja's origin. The Chams are related to the Malays in race, religion and culture and there are various stories of Cham communities settling down in the kingdoms of Malaysia.⁽¹⁾ Tomé Pires confirms the presence of Chams in Malacca in 1512 and the Malay Annals state that selected "nachoda Tjampa" were given privileged seats in the audience hall of the (probably early 15th century) court

(1) Marrison: CMA, p.90-98.

of Malacca.⁽¹⁾ Another "nachoda Tjampa" (the word "nachoda" here referring definitely to a profession and not used as a title) is recorded as having helped Hang Tuah abduct Tun Tedja from Pahang.⁽²⁾

It is not clear to me what, if any, connection 'Tjampa' has with the Minangkabau "tjampo" (in the expression "arimau tjampo", meaning apparently a particularly fierce and vicious type of tiger/leopard.)

It would perhaps merely be adding to the confusion to suggest that 'Tjampa', in connection with the word 'hulubalang', may derive from the Sanskrit "cāpa" (bow - of an archer), giving a meaning something like 'Bodyguard of Archers.'⁽³⁾

276a Mandjanang

I have taken this to refer to Ma(n)djannang, which, according to Speelman's 'Notitie' would appear to have been the name of the district adjacent to Sambung Djawa.⁽⁴⁾

276b Datu' L-ā-l-n-ng

Unknown. It is quite likely an error for 'Datu' Lenang' (see v.476, 478, 482) - also unknown.

- (1) Winstedt: SEJ, p.85. English translation in Brown: MAN, p.55.
- (2) Winstedt: SEJ, p.170. English translation in Brown: MAN, p.145.
- (3) Such bodyguards are by no means uncommon. In Indonesia, the officers ('pandji') of the 'pradjurit njutrá' (a detachment of the Sultan of Jogjakarta's Bodyguard) were armed with bows, and were attended by their quiver-bearers ('wanéngbájá') - see Groneman: GAR, p.84b and plate XIV. And in Britain, the sovereign, as ruler of Scotland, is still waited upon by the 'Royal Company of Archers'.
- (4) Speelman: NOT, p.25 (where it is called "Malennang".)

281a undurlah kapal kelaut dalam

Towards dusk the Dutch ships broke off the bombardment and drew off to sea. (1)

281b bangkai

The word is used probably to indicate the unclean habits of the Dutch, i.e. not ritually slaughtering their chickens (and thus rendering them 'halal'.)

284c memasang meriam

Stapel does not refer to any bombardment on the following day (July 20th), although he may be referring to shots fired off on this day when he mentions Speelman's complaints about the poor quality of the gun-powder he received from Batavia per the "Quicsteert" on the morning of the 20th July. (2)

284d bertampal-tampal

I take it that the shots kept 'plomping' down on the town, rather in the same way as one slaps down a patch on a place to be mended.

286a Keraeng Laksamana

Unknown. 'Laksamana' is a Malay title and does not

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.137.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.138.

occur in the Macassarese political hierarchy. It is just possible perhaps that the copyist has made an error in transcribing the title of a 'Karaéng Bonto Langkasa', but the end-rhyme would not appear to favour this hypothesis. Moreover, the only people bearing this title significant enough to be mentioned in the Macassar Court Diary are not contemporary with the incidents of our *sja^rir*.⁽¹⁾

290a *sentiasa hari*

It is not clear what fighting is referred to in this verse. On 21 July 1666, Speelman and the fleet sailed away from Macassar southwards along the coast (firing off an occasional shot as they went). On July 23rd, he landed a detachment of troops that attacked and burnt the village of Batu-Batu (see note to v. 301b). On the 24th, the fleet sailed back to Macassar but on the 27th, Speelman sailed south again to Barombong and bombarded the village. Speelman was, of course, waiting for Palakka and Poleman (and the Bugis who had rallied to Aru Palakka) to join him and hoped moreover that the activity of his fleet would distract the attention of the Macassarese forces blocking Palakka's path (see note to v. 295b).⁽²⁾

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.143, p.146.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.138.

291a Kekal kiranja apalah entji'

This and the following verse bear all the marks of having been recited to a (probably largely illiterate) audience with the hope of gain. One can almost hear the echo of money dropping into a collection-box in the writer's hope that his audience will 'not forget him' and his obsequiously grateful blessings on those who have kindly presented him with "air barang setitik" (or the equivalent)

It may indeed be felt that such sentiments are too obsequious to have been penned by the Sultan of Gowa's secretary and are therefore more likely to be an insertion on the part of a later copyist (and professional reciter). The status of the writer - any writer - qua 'writer' in the society of the day was not however such as to rule out the possibility of the author himself making such an appeal.

295a Maros

As the "erifconingh van Chinrana"⁽¹⁾ (Tjenrana), Karaéng Léngkésé' almost certainly exercised overlordship over the Maros (Marusu') district.

(1) See Heeres: CDN, p.382.

295b Keraéng Léngkés

It would appear that at this time, Karaéng Léngkésé' was in command of the Macassarese force that, by occupying the pass of Lajo' (in the Turatéa mountains), was effectively preventing Palakka and Poleman from rejoining Speelman and the fleet (see note to v. 208a).⁽¹⁾ It seems therefore that the author of the sja'ir is at fault here, for the disposition of the Macassarese forces in vv. 293-297 seem to refer to the area in and around Macassar.

298d ia

The missing lines probably made it clear which side is referred to here. In view of the following verses I have taken it to refer to the Dutch.

299b Batu-Batu

About a quarter of an hour's walk south of Barombong.⁽²⁾

299d alah dan menang disanalah tentu

Precisely. Although on this occasion the Dutch merely raided Batu-Batu, they returned there in force on September 3rd and very heavy fighting ensued, so heavy,

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.139-140

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.151.

in fact, that the Macassarese were eventually compelled to ask for an armistice that led to the signing of the Treaty of Bungaja.

301b naiklah Welandi di Batu-Batu

The Dutch sent a raiding expedition ashore at Batu-Batu on July 23rd and burnt the village. (1)

306d larinja itu turun kekapal

Although the author refers to the fighting in vv.301-306 as having taken place at Batu-Batu, it seems very likely that he has confused what was a mere raid on Batu-Batu on July 23rd with the (first) Dutch attack on Galésong on July 30th. The latter was a much more serious affair and cost the Dutch a good many casualties including one officer killed and three wounded. Like the author of the *sja'ir* (see v.303b and v.305a), Speelman was critical of the bravery of the Ternatéans and Butonese, who, he said, fought like "eerlose bloode schelmen". So fierce indeed was the Macassarese resistance that the Dutch and Bugis, although fighting bravely were in fact forced to act in the manner described here and retreat back to their ships. (2)

{1) Stapel: HBV, p.138.

{2) Stapel: HBV, p.138-139.

307b dari

The use of 'dari' where one would nowadays expect 'di-' is not unknown in Malay ms. The present writer has found it occurring fairly often, e.g. in documents relating to the civil wars in Kelantan in the early 19th century. Thus, a spy writes to report that rebel leaders are making no move, using the words "Tuan Tengah anak radja Banggul ada duduk dari Kampung Laut.....Tuan Lebai itu ada duduk dari Banggul lagi....."(1)

307b Galésong

On the coast, about 20 km. south of Macassar. The Dutch and their allies landed at Galésong on the morning of July 30th, 1667. Pierce fighting went on the whole day, and towards dusk the Dutch forces were compelled to re-embark without achieving their object of establishing a camp ashore.(2)

307c bilik

Possibly a sort of block-house cum gun-emplacement.

308d kota berdjalan

Probably one or more cannon mounted on some sort of wheeled platform.

(1) Lebai: KEL, lines 9, 10.
 (2) Stapel: HBV, p. 139.

312d Welanda lari

Speelman speaks of "telle quelle disordre ende retraits". (1)

314a Dari Galésong Welanda naik

After finally establishing contact with Palakka and Poleman on July 31st (see note to v. 295b), Speelman decided to make another attempt to establish a camp at Galésong. The Dutch and their allies landed on the morning of August 1st and after very severe fighting the Macassarese had at last to abandon their defensive positions along the coast. The Dutch could make little further headway however, and it was August 19th before Galésong was finally reduced, mopping-up operations continuing until August 27th. (2)

315 Sultanpun keluar

Speelman was informed by deserters that Hasanuddin himself had taken part in the fighting of August 1st (see also v.316d). (3)

316c Welanda dan Bugis banjak terpotong

This may well be a literal statement. The Macassar Court Diary records under August 1st, 1667: "The Dutch

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.139.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.141-150

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.143.

land at Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen have their heads hacked off".(1)

319a Tjili Kalimata

On August 3rd, 1667, Speelman received a letter from Corporal Hans Melcker, who had been left in charge of the Dutch detachment with the Bugis at Laikang (see note to v. 295b), reporting that Kalamata was one of the leaders of the Macassar forces in the Turateá area. If this is correct, the author of the *sja'ir* is mistaken in making Kalamata one of the Macassar leaders at Galésong. On August 3rd, Palakka, with a fair-sized detachment of Dutch troops to help him, had returned to Laikang to supervise the transfer of the large Bugis force gathered there to Galésong. Before the move had been completed, Palakka had launched a night attack on the Macassarese position there and had stormed one of their stockades. If Kalamata was in fact at Laikang, it would thus have been quite possible for him to have opposed Palakka in battle (as v. 319-320 suggest), but in the Turateá area, not at Galésong. However, a closer examination of Melcker's letter reveals that what he actually wrote was: "..... radia Soping presumeert dat Callematte bij haer

(1) Ligtfoot: DVG, p.127.

(the Macassarese army: C.S.) soude wesen, naer 'tgesichte van een vendel dat tegen het quartier van radja Soping overstaet dat zijn soude wesen.....", i.e. that Stapel may be even more presumptuous than the Radja of Soppéng and Corporal Melcker in assuming that Kalamata was at Turatéa. (1)

319b ipar

The Macassar Court Diary records under June 9th, 1664: "Katjili' Kalamata separates from Karaéng Panaikang". According to Ligtvoet, Karaéng Panaikang was the half-sister of Harun-al-Rasjid, the Sultan of Tallo'. (2)

322c oléh Mangkasar Melaju peranakan

The syntax of this and the following line is difficult to follow, as though the author had gone on to a second idea without finishing off the first. It is tempting to conjecture 'orang' in place of 'oléh'.

323a Datu' Gagah

Unknown. From the context, probably another of the Malay community.

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.142.

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.122.

324a Entji' Djohor

Unknown.

325d belajarlak kapal ke Batu-Batu

Speelman and the main body of the expedition sailed north from Galésong on the night of September 2nd-3rd, 1667, and anchored off the mouth of the River Aéng, close to Batu-Batu on the following morning. Under cover of the ships' cannon, the Dutch and their allies were able to establish a defensive position ashore, just south of the Aéng.⁽¹⁾

The Macassar Court Diary records (under September 4th) "The Dutch go to Batu-Batu and erect fortifications at Aéng."⁽²⁾

326c golok

The text has "k-ū-l-t", which might perhaps be taken as a reference to water-containers made of leather. I have however preferred the reading "golok" ('k' and 'g' are, of course, interchangeable, while the difference between a final 'q' and 't' is not very great) - the machetes or choppers that would be essential for a landing party intent on putting up fortifications as quickly

(1) Stapel: HBV, p. 151.

(2) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.128.

as possible. It is perhaps significant that, speaking of this same Batu-Batu landing, Stapel observes: "Onder bescherming van het scheepsgeschut landde het leger ongehinderd en spoedig was alle man bezig aan het bouwen van een versterkte legerplaats, waarvoor reeds van tevoren schanskorven etc. waren gereedgemaakt." (1)

328a Datu' Adi

Unknown. The missing two lines make it difficult to supply any background for him.

329a Sultan

Although Stapel makes only one mention of the Sultan's presence on the battlefield (in the fighting on October 14-15) during the Dutch attacks around Batu-Batu this does not mean that this was the only occasion on which the Sultan took part in the fighting. It is unlikely that the fighting referred to here is that of October 14th-15th, as the Dutch attack related in v.332 probably occurred on September 17th.

331a berkata kasar

Thus justifying the comparison made between him and 'Sang Bima' (see v. 502). In the wajang purwa, for example, Bima (alias Radèn Brataséna) is ".... seorang jang tak pernah memakai bahasa halus; pada siapapun
(1) Stapel: HBV, p.151.

djuga, maupun kepada Déwa dipergunakan bahasa kasar".(1)

332a Berperang itu pagi-pagi hari

It is possible that this refers to the first large-scale attack made by the Dutch at Batu-Batu, on the morning of September 17th. Palakka and his Bugis, supported by Butonese and Ternatéans (see v. 333b) attempted to clear the woods south of Batu-Batu, but a determined attack by the Macassarese put first the Butonese and Ternatéans, and later the Bugis to flight. Eventually Captain Poleman managed to hold the Macassarese attack and give the Bugis time to re-form.(2)

From this point on in the sja'ir up to v.386 there appears to be virtually no correspondence between the sequence of events given by the author of the sja'ir and that given by Stapel (basing himself upon Speelman's own account of the campaign). It has therefore not been possible to equate the two accounts, as has been done up to now in these notes.

Stapel's account, although decidedly 'Batavian' in its approach, seems fairly reliable as to dates, and it seems very likely that the author of the sja'ir has not much idea of the chronological order of events in the

(1) Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 80-81. Similarly the Bima of the Sundanese wayang golek is described as "Ari ngomong heuras gétas tapi satarabasna..." (Salmoen: PDP, p.122).

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.153.

fighting at Batu-Batu (confirming the impression given in v.204 and v.306 that, for the period July-November 1667, the author is relying on, at the most, second-hand evidence.)

339d alperés dan saréan

The two Portuguese-derived words provide some indication of the 'staying-power' of Portuguese in the archipelago.⁽¹⁾ It is interesting to note that Speelman himself probably conducted at least some of his negotiations with the Macassarese in Portuguese. At the discussions preceding the signing of the Treaty of Bungaja in November 1667, Speelman refused to conduct negotiations through interpreters on the grounds that "... de heele Regeringe Maleyts ende meeste deel ook Portugees verstinde ..." and described the chief Macassarese negotiator, Karaéng Karunrung, as being "de assurantste" in Portuguese.⁽²⁾

Both words appear to be used here with their original military significance ("sargento" and "alferes"), although subsequently being used as the titles of civil officials ("saréan", in fact, is still used in parts of Djakarta for the official usually referred to by this official title of "lurah (kampung)".⁽³⁾

(1) See e.g. Drewes: IWC, especially p.138-139

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.179.

(3) See Purwadaminta: KUB (under "saréan").

348a Keraéng Patunga

Beyond the fact that such a title did exist in contemporary Macassar,⁽¹⁾ nothing is known of the person referred to here.

348a Gatotkatja

Although virtually unknown in modern Malaya, Gatotkatja (Sanskrit: Ghatotkaca) is, in most parts of Indonesia, the standard type of the young heroic warrior.⁽²⁾

348b Sang Djaja Amarta

I am not certain to which of the heroes of the Indian epics this refers. The name 'Amarta' suggests Judistira (Sanskrit "Yudhisthira") who, in the Javanese and Sundanese wayang stories features as the King of

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, p.94 (entry under 16th September, 1633).

(2) "Radén Gatotkatja berurat kawat, bertulang besi, berdarah gala-gala dan dapat terbang diawan dan duduk diatas awan jang melintang. Ketjepatan Gatotkatja pada waktu terbang diawan sebagai kilat, liar sebagai halilintar. Kesaktiannja dalam perang - dapat mentjabut léhér musuhnja dengan kekuatan." (Hardjowirogo: SWP, pp.84-85). Altogether a formidable enemy.

Amarta,⁽¹⁾ but to compare a soldier to Judistira is something of a left-handed compliment, as the one thing that Judistira never engaged in was fighting. Gericke and Roorda⁽²⁾ say that, in the wajang purwa stories, 'jayamreta' ('Jayamarta') occurs as a sort of war-cry or slogan, used only by the Pandawas. One might therefore suggest that 'Sang Djaja Amarta' refers to one of the Pandawas, probably Ardjuna.

352b seperti perang Maharadja Bumi

When Maharadja Bumi, i.e. Maharadja Boma, and his army went to war, the fighting was indeed 'terlalu ramai' (v. 352a)⁽³⁾

Kern has already commented on the familiarity with the Hikajat Sang Boma shown by the author of the Salasilah Kutai.⁽⁴⁾ It would appear that the author of the sja'ir was equally familiar with the story.

354a Sang Samba

Although Sang Samba (the hero of the Hikajat Sang

- (1) Hardjowirogo: SWP, p.77. Salmoen: PDP, p.162, p.171
- (2) Gericke and Roorda: JAV, Vol.II, p.417b.
- (3) "Maka berperanglah segala hulubalang dan rakjat Maharadja Djantaka dengan segala hulubalang rakjat Maharadja Boma serta dengan rakjat raksasa, terlalu ramai ia berperang itu." (HSB, p.31).
- (4) Kern: CSK, p.25.

Boma) was no mean fighter,⁽¹⁾ he was probably more famous for his handsome appearance,⁽²⁾ and it may be Karaéng Mamu's somewhat striking clothes (v. 354b) that prompt the comparison rather than his prowess as a fighter.

355a Keraéng Bonto

There would seem to be a name left out here, as "Bonto" generally occurs before the names of places (cf. Karaéng Bonto Madjannang, Karaéng Bonto Marannu, Karaéng Bonto Sunggu etc.). One might query 'laksana' here and conjecture 'Karaéng Bonto Langkasa', but although such a title did exist in 17th century Macassar,⁽³⁾ there is no record of a Karaéng of that name taking part in the fighting against the Dutch.

355a Sang Radjuna

Ardjuna. Although usually associated with the Mahabharata, Ardjuna also figures in the Hikajat Sang Boma.⁽⁴⁾

355c Maharadja Rawana

The 'villain' of the Hikajat Seri Rama⁽⁵⁾ (in rather the same way that Satan is the 'villain' of "Paradise Lost

(1) HSB, p. 77-81.

(2) HSB, p. 59-60.

(3) cf. Ligtoet: DVG, p. 143 etc.

(4) HSB, passim.

(5) Shellabear: HSR, passim.

356a Daéng Maréwa

Unknown. Possibly the same as the "daijen Maleeuwa" who appears in a treaty concluded by the VOC at Macassar on 1 October 1669. (1)

356a Sang Parta

Another name for Ardjuna in the wayang stories. (2)

356b suasa

Strictly speaking, "suasa" is not pure gold, but "gold with a large admixture of special alloy". However, to use some such term as "pinchbeck" or even "alloy" (both of which have derogatory associations in English) would not, I consider, do justice to the writer's intentions here, particularly as a good 'suasa' - as contrasted say with 'emas muda' - would be even more valuable than gold. (3)

357b panah jang dua

Possibly referring to "Pésopati", the arrow presented by the gods to Ardjuna. See illustration in Hardjowirogo: SWP, p.145.

360a anak sumpitan

Equipped as they were with a fairly formidable

(1) Heeres: CDN, p.426.

(2) Hardjowirogo: SWP, p.87 Salmoen: PDP, p.179.

(3) Wilkinson: MED (under "suasa".)

battery of cannon, blow-pipes must have been rather vieux jeu to the Macassarese. They were certainly not unknown in Macassar,⁽¹⁾ but I can find no reference to their having been used in the 1666-1669 campaigns. We cannot however rule out the possibility of their use during the fighting (just as they were used nearly three hundred years later against Japanese troops in Borneo.)

360b kebisaan

Writing in April, 1668, Speelman complains: "'t Slimste is, dat de wonden, die wy krygen, soo qualijck en langsaem genesen, al sijn se van geen belangh, dat wy nu soowel als te vooren, te ondervinden comen, dat die schelmen meestal vergifte cogels gebruycken, 't gunt wy meenen sonder beswaernisse voortaeen ooc wel te mogen doen."⁽²⁾ This certainly suggests that poisoned missiles of some kind were used during the fighting both before and after the Treaty of Bungaja. In an account of the VOC

(1) See e.g. Tideman: TBA, p. 495 (also note by van Hoevell). Foster, commenting on John Jourdain's visit to Macassar in 1613, observes "The sumpitan, or small arrow blown through a tube was the chief missile in use before the introduction of firearms. The arrows were often poisoned, and the old travellers tell terrible stories of their deadliness" (Jourdain: JOU, p. 295, note 1.)

(2) Stapel: CJS, p. 49.

attack on Macassar in June 1660 we read that, during a determined Macassar attack, 'Thousands of arrows and poisoned javelins whizzed through the air'.⁽¹⁾

366a Tiga puluh tiga kepala Welanda

Although the author seems to place this incident definitely after the landing at Batu-Batu (at the beginning of September, 1667), the statement bears a suspicious resemblance to the entry in the Macassar Court Diary under 1st August, 1667, viz: "The Dutch land at Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen have their heads hacked off."⁽²⁾ It seems likely that this is one more example of the author's unreliability as to the sequence of events.

Both Macassarese and Bugis (like the modern Gurkhas) were attached to the habit of bringing back their enemies' heads as proof of their victory.⁽³⁾

367c berpaling

In the sense of "memalingkan muka" (to turn aside from, to desert (one's Ruler)).⁽⁴⁾

(1) van Dam van Isselt: JVD, p.20.

(2) Ligetvoet: DVG, p. 127 (See also note to v. 316c).

(3) See e.g. note to v. 51a.

(4) cf. Purwadaminta: KUB (for "berpaling", Purwadaminta gives "membélot, murtad.")

374d tuan

There is some doubt here as to whom the word refers. At first sight, it looks as though the reference is to the speaker, i.e. the sjahbandar's wife, but comparison with v.381-384, where "tuan" is used by the speaker obviously to refer to her dead son, suggests that in v.374d too the reference is to the dead relative.

375c médjān

Arabic "mīzān" (a balance, a pair (of)). The word is pronounced and spelt in a variety of ways in various parts of Malaysia (see Wilkinson: MED under "mesan".)

376c badan sadja

Presumably because the head had been hacked off. See e.g. note to v. 51a.

377c burhan

Arabic "burhān" (proof, evidence). I take it that the word is used here as a synonym for the Arabic "sjahīd" (someone who gives evidence, bears witness, on behalf of the true religion, and dies as a martyr, "fī sabīl Allah").

377d mendjadi zaman

A curious phrase. Perhaps a copyist's error for "achir zaman" (a phrase that occurs in v. 15d.)

378a Djuru datjing

The importance and wealth of this official - in a port kingdom - was obviously far greater than a literal translation of the title would indicate. Writing in 1665, the English Factors at Macassar complain that "the Capolla Dachin⁽¹⁾ is unavoidable being in the nature of the Kings Customes and only we but all the trade here are held to it..."⁽²⁾

381a Ajuh tuan lihatlah ibu

The theme of the bereaved mother bewailing her son (or daughter) is a perennial one in Malay literature. An interesting modern parallel is provided by the Indonesian writer "Selasih" in her poem "Ratap Ibu", containing verses such as:

"Parau suara kering rangkungan,
Memanggil tuan emas djuita;
Mengapa tidak tuan dengarkan -
Suka melihat ibu berduka? (3)

383c santapan

The use of this 'royal' word for the food of a commoner may be just one more example of the author's

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- (1) Although of course cognate with the Malay "kepala datjing" the words refer not, as might perhaps be expected, to the official in charge of the weighing (whom the Factors call the "Dachineer"), but, as the Factors explain, to that part of the load on the scale set aside for the King. See Matthes: MHW under "datjing".
- (2) JAV, Vol. 5, Section 72a, fol. 34.
- (3) Alisjahbana: PBA, p.18.

high regard for the (Malay) commercial aristocracy of Macassar. It is more likely, however, that the (limited) 'krāmā' vocabulary of Malay had not yet become fixed in the 1660's, particularly in a non-Malay state.

385a Ditjorék

Wilkinson: MED does not give an entirely satisfactory translation. I take 'tjorék' to be another form of "tjorét" - a line (scratched into the earth).⁽¹⁾

386a Di Balai Bunga

The text reads "d-î-b-â-l-î-b-û-ng" which, as the ms. often represents a modern e-pepet by "â", might - in the context of the preceding verse - be read as "Dibeli bunga..." The following phrase however ("terlalu ramai" makes rather an uneasy bed-fellow for "Dibeli bunga", while the following line :

"..... and it was there that peace negotiations began" seems to call for some kind of place name. Following this cue and treating "di-" as a preposition, we are left with the name "Balai Bunga".

The negotiations referred to began on November 13th, 1667, when Speelman and the allied commanders met

(1) Purwadaminta: KUB (under "tjorét".)

Hasanuddin and the principal Macassar nobles just outside the village of Bungaja.⁽¹⁾ The place name, Bungaja, is according to Matthes derived from the Macassarese "bunga"⁽²⁾ (identical in form and meaning with the Malay "bunga"), the suffix "-(j)a" being equivalent to the definite article (het bepalend lidwoord).⁽³⁾ It seems not unreasonable therefore to equate the Macassarese "bunga(ja)" with the text's "bunga" and locate our "Balai Bunga" at Bungaja. The "Balai" referred to might even be the structure erected at "Bunga(ja)" to shelter the negotiators.

386d terlalu ramai

So numerous in fact were the Macassarese at the negotiations that Speelman, fearing a trap, sent a message to Hasanuddin insisting that the number of Macassarese gathered around the appointed meeting-place be reduced. This was subsequently done and negotiations then proceeded.⁽⁴⁾

387b habislah orang sekalian gempar

According to Stapel, towards the end of the negotiations, some of the Macassar commanders, trying to

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- (1) Stapel: HBV, p.178-181.
 - (2) Matthes: MHW (under "boenga".)
 - (3) See Matthes: MSP, p.34.
 - (4) Stapel: HBV, p.179.

push their own troops back, set about them with sticks, knocking some of them down. In the resulting confusion, a certain amount of panic occurred, and both sides were on the point of reaching for their weapons. (1)

387c Amiralpun lari

According to Stapel (who appears to base himself entirely upon Speelman's own account), the panic that arose was prevented from having any serious consequences due to the calmness of Speelman on the allied side, and Hasanuddin on the Macassarese side. (2)

391b Radja jang tua

I take these words to refer to Karaeng Karunrung, who, although not particularly old in the literal sense (3) (he was born in 1631, in the same year as Hasanuddin), certainly acted the part of elder statesman at Hasanuddin's court. A son of the former Chancellor, Karaeng Patingallowang, Karunrung was himself Chancellor when banished in May 1664. Returning in February 1666, he was banished again before the year was

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.181.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.181 (footnote 1).

(3) For the use of 'tua' in the sense of "senior" cf. the sja'ir "sahbandar jang tua" (as opposed to 'Sahbandar jang muda', e.g. in vv. 60-61). It seems likely too that references to the Sultan of Tallo' as 'Sultan jang muda' (e.g. in v.152c) imply that he was the "junior" Sultan of Macassar as opposed to the "senior" Sultan, i.e. the Sultan of Gowa.

out, returning again July 1667 in time to take a prominent part in urging Hasanuddin to fight the VOC to the end. At the abortive negotiations that took place on November 2nd, 1667, Speelman had brusquely rejected a Macassar request for an armistice, saying that unless the Macassarese agreed to treat, he would at once carry on with the war. Valentijn records that when Speelman's message was brought before the Macassar court, it was received in silence until Karunrung said with a laugh "Well, aren't they right? What is there that needs discussion? If we don't attack them, they'll attack us!"⁽¹⁾

At the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Bungaja, it was Karunrung, (whom Speelman describes as being the most fluent in Portuguese of the Macassar nobles), who acted as the Macassar spokesman.⁽²⁾

Speelman was always apprehensive of what he described as Karunrung's "quaede practyque en maginatie",⁽³⁾ regarding him "als pure oorsaacke van het verbroecken Bonaijse verbont" and inserting into subsequent treaties

(1) Valentijn: ONO, p.156 (writer's translation).

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.179

(3) Stapel: GNI, p.346. Karunrung's fame as a 'bogeyman' seems to have stretched from Macassar to Batavia. In his birthday verses addressed to "Mejufrouw N.N. op haar Eeds. Sevenste Verjaren - Anno 1669", the Batavian poetaster Aernout van Overbeke refers to "...Cronron dat duyvels-spogh.." (du Perron: MJC, p.73.)

a clause requiring the handing over of Karunrung 'dead or alive'.⁽¹⁾ Despite this, however, 1671 saw Karunrung once more Chancellor of Gowa and he died at last in 1685, after what was obviously a very full life.⁽²⁾

394c seperti kambing takut akan singa

This is possibly a reference to the Mousedeer story-cycle where the Mousedeer plays off the tigers against the goats. Confusion between lions and tigers would be the easier in that the lion also occurs in the stories.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Clause V of the "Nader Poincten" drawn up in July, 1669, and signed by the Sultan of Tallo and other Macassar nobles reads: "Dat in gevalle Cronron, als puure oorsaacke van het verbroocken Bonaijse verbont, sich in 't bijzonder niet t'eenmael ongewapent comt vernederen en bidden om genade, sich stellende ter volle dispositie van de Hooge Regeringe op Batavia (onder verseeckeringe, dog ongevergt, dat den selven aan lijff en leven onbeschadigt sal blijven), dat sij hem alsdan in sulcken gevalle sullen helpen vervolgen, vangen off dooden, naar gelegentheijt; en alle goederen, welke van hem geattrappeert werden, stellen in handen van de Compagnie tot afcortinge van 't gene aan de Compagnie, volgens 't contractt voorschreven, betaalt moet werden." (Heeres: CDN, p.414.)
- (2) Iigtvoet: DVC, p.103-156.
- (3) Klinkert: HPD, pp.4-10. For the lion(s), see p.19 et seq.

394d kedjut dengan daun telinga

'dengan' is rather strange here, but I think the meaning is clear. Wilkinson: MED, gives "Bĕrkĕjut telinga - holding his ears stiffly erect, of a timid horse".

396a si Tunderu'

The familiarity between Hasanuddin and Palakka related in this and the following verses may seem somewhat surprising as between two men who were virtually sworn enemies but, at the negotiations of November 13th Speelman himself commented "... ongemeen vrundelijcke bejegeninge en caresse deede zij (the Macassarese: C.S.) aen de Coning van Palacca...."(1)

398b dipermaburi

The text has "d-p-r-m-ā-b-ū-d-î". Assuming the prefixes 'di-per-', I can only conjecture 'dipermaburi'. Pigeaud: JNH gives "mabur: 1. op-, wegvliegen; 2 door de lucht gaan, vliegen" and refers to the root "bur", one of whose meanings is given as "weg (geraakt), niet te vinden". I have translated the word, in deliberately ambiguous fashion, as "to make away with".

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.181.

399d suruhlah kembali Boné dan Sopéng

At the negotiations referred to in v. 386 and the following verses, Speelman had presented the Macassarese with a series of demands, some twenty-six in all, to be accepted by the Macassarese as the basis of a formal treaty. The demands do not include any specific demand for the return of Bugis captured by the Macassarese.⁽¹⁾ It is not impossible that Speelman made, as the sja'ir implies, a verbal request on these lines, for, according to Stapel, on the morning of November 18th the Macassarese released a number of Bugis, both men and women.⁽²⁾ The final draft of the peace treaty certainly included a formal demand for the restitution of all captured Bugis.⁽³⁾

406d saudara sepupu kepada Sultan

I take this and the missing lines to refer to the Sultan of Tallo' (cf. 'kakanda' in v.408c).

Hasanuddin's great-grandfather, Tu-nidjallo', had a daughter called Karaéng-ri-Naung. She married Karaéng Matowaja the grand-father of Harun al-Rasjid, the Sultan of Tallo'. Hasanuddin and Harun al-Rasjid were thus cousins once removed.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.179-181.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.184.

(3) Heeres: CDN, p.376-377.

(4) Ligtoet: DVG, p.106.

409c Pati Matarang

The text has "p-t-ng ä-ng-k-ä-w-ng" and one might well read "Patang Angkawang". However, despite the fact that the person referred to here would seem to be a Sultan of Tallo', no such name as Patang Angkawang (which has something of a Bugis ring about it) is to be found in the Macassar Court Diary. I have therefore conjectured 'Pati Matarang', a term used in 17th century Macassar to denote "crown prince" or "heir to the throne",⁽¹⁾ which does give some sort of sense in the context.

410a Radja di Bontowala'

cf. Speelman (writing just after the end of the war): "Bontoala legt landewaert in, schaens 1/3 mijl regt oost van 't casteel Rotterdam (the 'Udjung Pandang' of our sja'ir); behalven dat deselve door 't regt van 't swaert aen ons regt eigen is, soo heeft de conink van Tello staende de vrede van Bonaijen deselve aan D.E. Comp. geschonken..."⁽²⁾

412d qā'im

Arabic "qā'im" - steadfast, continuing.

(1) Ligervoet: DVG, p.100.

(2) Speelman: NOT, p.69. By 'mijl' here is meant the so-called 'French mile' (see WNT. under 'mijl') equivalent to about $4\frac{1}{2}$ km.

414a Antara selang beberapa hari

There was, in fact, an interval of four days between the negotiations referred to in v.386 etc., and the actual signing of the Treaty of Bungaja on November 18th 1667.

417c segala hartanja disuruhnja ganti

Article 29 of the Treaty of Bungaja reads: "De regeringe belooft aan de Compagnie uijt te keeren in vergoedinge van haare onkosten te oorloge 250.000 R^{rs} in vijff moussons naest aan een volgende, 't zij in canon, 't zij in coopmanschappen, 't zij in gout, silver, off juwelen, elk na sijn waarde." (1)

417d lima puluh kati

The amount agreed upon was 250.000 Rijksdaalders, which would make one kati (presumably of gold) equal to 5.000 Rijksdaalders. This seems most unlikely. According to Stapel, there were various sorts of 'mas' in Macassar with values ranging from one rijksdaalder to 30 stuivers. (2) Even taking the Macassar 'emas' as being worth one rijksdaalder, one 'takil' would be worth no more than about 16 rijksdaalders, which would make a

(1) Heeres: CHD, p.380.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.101.

kati worth between three and four hundred rijksdaalders.⁽¹⁾
 It seems likely that 'ratus' should be substituted for
 'puluh' in the text.

418a Radja jang tua

If, as seems likely, the words refer to Karaéng
 Karunrung, the somewhat jocular tone of the remarks in
 the verse would appear to be in keeping with what is
 reported of his character (see note to v.391b).

419c Udjung Pandang

Article 11 of the Treaty of Bungaja reads:

"Inoorder fort genaamt d'Joupandam sal stonts naar de
 solemnele be-eedinge van desen contracten van Maccassers
 guarnisoen werden geledicht ende aan de Compagnie in
 bequame en behoorlijk ordre over gegeven...."⁽²⁾

Speelman himself described the fort as "een sterck
 casteel, van goet drinckwater versien en op een gesonde
 plaets gelegen, hebbende bovendien een bequame reede,
 daer onse schepen byna voor alle winden beschut connen
 leggen, soo dat men het wel magh noemen een voorburgh
 van de costelyke Oosterse provintien."⁽³⁾ In fact,
 Speelman re-named it "Fort Rotterdam", in honour of his

(1) These figures are calculated according to the table
 given in Newbold: PSA, Vol. 1, p.25-26.

(2) Heeres: CDH, p.374.

(3) DAG, entry under 14th March, 1668.

birth-place. (1)

419d pindjam

The Treaty obviously regards the 'loan' of the fort at Udjung Pandang as a fairly permanent one.

420b dipindjam sembahjang

I can find no reference to this in Dutch or Macassar sources.

421a berbunjilah bedil

After the Treaty had been signed and attested, both sides fired off salvos. (2)

423b kéring

The text has "k-ā-r-ī-ng", and with "keraéng" (spelt in identical fashion) on either side of it, one may legitimately suspect a copyist's error. I am, however, unable to conjecture anything more appropriate than the Javanese "kéring", which, according to Pigeaud: JNH, might perhaps correspond to the English "respected, honoured, venerated".

423c kembalilah segala Boné dan Sopéng

See note to v.399d. Writing to Governor-General

(1) Stapel: HBV, p.190.

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.186.

Maetsuycker in September 1668, the Sultans of Gowa and Tallo' complained that Speelman had been acting in a manner quite incompatible with the provisions of the Bungaja Treaty "...schoon wy al de Bougis, die voorhenen genomen, weder gegeven hadden". (1)

425b Ujung Pandang

The Macassar Court Diary records under November 21st, 1667: "The Dutch take possession of Ujung Pandang." (2)

426c Lajo' dan Bangkal

I take this to refer to Karaéng Lajo' and Karaéng Bangkala'. During the final stages of the fighting preceding the Bungaja Treaty, these two held a key position in the Macassar defensive system behind the Aéng River. By an act of well-planned treachery, the two Karaéngs went over to the VOC on the night of November 2-3, 1667, enabling the VOC to turn the Macassar defence-line, so that Hasanuddin had no option but to sue for peace. (3)

The two Karaéngs had thus been well and truly 'got at' by the VOC and I think it likely that it is

(1) DAG, entry under 18th March, 1669.

(2) Ligtoet: DVG, p.128.

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.170-172.

this 'getting at' that is referred to here. The phrase "kena masuk" may even contain a contraction of "masuk hantu",⁽¹⁾ i.e. the Karaéngs had fallen a prey to the wiles of some evil spirit (and were thus unable to resist the blandishments of the devilish VOC.)

427b sehari-hari ke Sambopu berulang-ulang

Protesting to the Governor-General about the unilateral actions of Speelman, following on the Treaty of Bungaja, the Sultans of Gowa and Tallo' complained that certain undesirable elements, with Speelman's backing, had "...veel malen in 't fort Samboppo gekomen en hebben de slaeven van de luyden naer haer eygen believen weghgenomen".⁽²⁾

427c segenap kampung mengambil orang

Despite the next line, I take the words to refer not to the restitution of captured Bugis (see note to v.423c) but to kidnapping carried out by the VOC's allies. The Macassarese rulers complained to Governor-General Maetsuycker about this in their letter to him dated 18th September, 1668.⁽³⁾

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- (1) The writer has heard the phrase "kena masuk" used (in Province Wellesley, Federation of Malaya) in the sense of "masuk hantu".
 (2) DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p.274).
 (3) Given in full (in its Dutch translation) in DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p.273-276).

428b melihat laku Bugis djahanam

The conduct of the victorious Bugis certainly left much to be desired. Speelman himself complained bitterly that "...de bougijs niet anders deden...als steelen, rooven en moorden...."(1)

428c sabarlah ia sekalian diam

The Dutch translation of the letter already mentioned (see note to v.427c) contains an interesting echo of this line. Speaking of their patience in putting up with breaches of the Treaty of Bungaja, the Sultans of Gowa and Tallo' say: "...doch dit hebben Siery Sulthan en 't volck van Macassar stilswygende laten doorgaen en verdraegen..."(2) and again "...in dit alles hebben de Macassaren geswegen..."(3)

The Dutch is a translation of "een Maleytse missive door den Coningh van Macassar aen den Gouverneur generael ende de Raeden van India geschreven".(4) As such it would presumably be written by the Sultan's writer, Entji' Amin, the author of our sja'ir.

(1) Speelman: NOT, p.209.

(2) DAG, (1669) p.274.

(3) ibid., p.275.

(4) ibid., p.273.

431b sudah putik mendjadi kembang

I take this to be an equivalent of the phrase "sudah putik berbalik bunga", i.e. 'the unexpected has happened.' (1)

432a seorang Keraéng

Although the verse is incomplete, it seems likely that the Karaéng referred to is Karaéng Léngkésé.

The Karaéng whose "wicked conduct" (2) is deplored in these verses is obviously to be found among the number of those Macassarese noblemen who, after the Bungaja Treaty had been signed, showed a willingness to 'fraternise' with the VOC. The most prominent of these noblemen were the Sultan of Tallo' and Karaéng Léngkésé (who, for a time at least, remained loyal to the VOC, when fighting broke out again in April 1668.) (3) In point of fact, our author very rarely refers to the Sultan of Tallo' as "Karaéng"; (4) Karaéng Léngkésé, on the other hand, is more than once so termed. (5)

Moreover, pursuing the similarity (already commented on) (6) between the sja'ir and the Sultan

(1) See e.g. Brown: MSA, p.56

(2) See v.432b

(3) DAG, entries under 13 May 1669 (p.176) and 15 June 1669 (p.103).

(4) He is usually referred to as "Sultan di Telo"

(5) e.g. in v.445b and v.470b.

(6) e.g. in the note to v.428c.

of Gowa's letter of the 18 September 1668, it is significant that the letter makes a special point of the damage done to the Sultan's cause by Karaéng Léngkésé², complaining: "Vorders op nieuws is Krayn Linckes met syne broeders en kinderen van selfs overgegaen, die hy (i.e. Speelman: CS) oock aengenomen heeft; en al het quaet, dat hy tot nadeel van Siery Sulthan seght, wordt van hem aengenomen..."⁽¹⁾ Such conduct might well prompt the comment:

"hilanglah budi luput upaja

Sultan tidak lagi pertjaja."⁽²⁾

434d terlanggar kedarat

I cannot trace this incident. It is just possible (cf. the reference to "tariklah kapal perbuat bénténg" in the following verse) that the verses are an attempt to decry the resourcefulness of the VOC in erecting a strong defensive position shortly after the recommencement of hostilities.⁽³⁾

436a pertama mula perkataan

The chronology of this and the following verses is rather puzzling. There seems little doubt that

(1) DAG, entry under 18 March 1669, p.275.

(2) v.433.

(3) Stapel: CJS, p.49.

v.436-441 give details of the desertion of Karaéngs Bangkala' and Lajo' in November 1667.⁽¹⁾ On the other hand, v.442, with its reference to Speelman at Udjung Pandang, clearly refers to some time in 1668, after the cession of Udjung Pandang to the VOC (as a result of the Treaty of Bungaja). The obvious explanation is that the author has confused the actions of Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala' during the first campaign (i.e. before the Bungaja Treaty), with their actions during the second campaign (i.e. after April, 1668).

One might perhaps take the verses as a 'flash-back'. We should then imagine the author, when about to relate how Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala' (together with Karaéng Léngkésé') joined the VOC in an attack on Sanraboné, recalling for his own, and his readers'/listeners', benefit, the treachery of the two Karaéngs on an earlier occasion (v.436-439). He tells how, after their treachery, the Karaéngs fled to their 'counties' in Turatéa and tried to get in touch with Speelman (v.440), eventually succeeding (v.441) some time after the Bungaja Treaty. In v.442 we are in

(1) See note to v.426c

April 1668, (1) Speelman is in Ujung Pandang, and the Karaéngs are agreeing to take part in the attack on Sanraboné (v.443).

The author's chronological reliability is scarcely such as to justify the choice of the (rather tenuous) 'flash-back' explanation to the obvious one of mistaken chronology. (2)

437d berkélok

Although not given as such in Wilkinson: MED, "berkélok" is identical in meaning with "berbélok" (cf. Purwadaminta: KUB, under "kélok".)

439a Ketika malam

Karaéngs Bangkala' and Lajo' abandoned their key stockade to the VOC (after a token defence) on the night of 2 November 1667. (3)

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- (1) This appears to be confirmed by the mention of Karaéng Lengkése' in v.444a. One of the 'last-ditchers' in the first campaign, Karaéng Lengkése' had not made his peace with the VOC until 13 March 1668 (Heeres: CDN, p.382-383.) He is reported as taking part in a VOC attempt on Turatéa on 10 April 1668 (DAG, entry under 18 March 1669, p.275.)
- (2) The unreliability of the author's chronology is discussed in the notes to v.204b, 306d, 332a and 366a.
- (3) Stapel: HBV, p.171.

439c Datu'.....

This may possibly refer to Aru Palakka,⁽¹⁾ who acted as the 'contact man' in negotiating the desertion of Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala'.⁽²⁾

440a lari kedarat

The two Karaéngs fled to their 'seats' in Turatéa.⁽³⁾

443d ke Sanderaboné akulah masuk

The town of Sanraboné lies on the coast, on the north bank of the river of the same name, about 40 km. south of Macassar.

Rather surprisingly, there is no mention in Stapel of this attack on Sanraboné. The only reference to an attack in the Sanraboné area comes in a letter from the Sultan of Gowa to Governor-General Maetsuycker on the 18 September 1668. In it the Sultan complains "...nu, den 9en dagh van April, soo heeft hy (i.e. Speelman: CS) Crayn Linckus (Karaéng Léngkésé': CS) gesonden naer een stadt in Tourata (Turatéa: CS) genoemt Poelombangkis, die den 10en dach van April daer verschenen is...."⁽⁴⁾ As this same Karaéng Léngkésé' plays an

(1) Whom the author refers to elsewhere as "Datu'" (cf. v.208d).

(2) Stapel: HBV, p.170-171.

(3) Stapel: HBV, p.171-172.

(4) DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p.275).

important part in the Sanraboné attack,⁽¹⁾ it seems not unreasonable to date the Sanraboné attack as occurring round about 10 April 1668, which would fit in very well with the chronology of our sja'ir.⁽²⁾

The point that appears to be made here is that it was aggressive action on the part of the VOC and its associates in attacking Sanraboné that caused hostilities to recommence. The point is worth bearing in mind in view of Stapel's pronouncements on the subject. In his CJS (p.49) Stapel says: "Weldra bleek uit tal van kleinigheden, dat de verhouding steeds slechter werd, en den 12en April gingen de Makassaren, nadat zij reeds circa f200.000 van de oorlogsschatting (almost the full amount: GS) betaald hadden, opnieuw tot den strijd over" relegating to a footnote the somewhat ingenuous observation "De Makassaren beweerden later, dat Speelman begonnen was. Uit de stukken (not given by Stapel; apparently documents compiled exclusively by VOC personnel: GS) blijkt, dat Speelman

(1) cf. v.444-470.

(2) Although at first loyal to the VOC, Léngkésé' went over to the Macassarese before the end of May 1668 (DAG, entry under 15 June 1668, p.103.) and any attack by the VOC in which he took part must obviously have occurred before 31 May 1668.

van spionnen vernomen had, dat Makassar reeds eenigen tijd doende was zich op hernieuwing van den strijd voor te bereiden. Den 12den April posteerden eenige karaëngs hun troepen op het open veld, tusschen de stad en het kasteel Rotterdam, en plantten daar hun oorlogsvaandels. Dit beschouwde Speelman als een hervatting van den oorlog. Verder werkeloos te blijven zou er op neerkomen 'van den vywant den eersten slach te verwagten'. The disparity between these two pronouncements appears to have struck even Stapel, for writing some three years later, he confines himself to the observation "Beide partijen gaven elkander de schuld, begonnen te zijn. Een feit is, dat Speelman, door spionnen gewaarschuwd dat Makassar weer oorlogstoebereidselen maakte, op zijn hoede en gevechtsklaar was." (1)

Summing up, the sja'ir provides some support for the view that the responsibility for the recommencement of hostilities in April 1668 must be placed as much (if not more) on the shoulders of the VOC as on the Macassarese

449a Keraéng Sanderaboné

It may be rather difficult to associate the courageous bearing ascribed to Karaéng Sanraboné here and in the

(1) Stapel: GNI, p.346.

following verses with a lad some 16 or 17 years old.⁽¹⁾
 However (writing at the beginning of 1670), Speelman
 testifies that "...de Coning van Sadrebone is noch jong
 en wulps tusschen 18 a 19 jaar out, in 't laeste oorloch
 heeft hij wat reputatie van dapperheijt, off altoos
 ontsach onder die van Tourata gecregen..."⁽²⁾

452b Radja di Telo'

This would seem to be an error on the author's part
 as the Sultan of Tallo' deserted the VOC on the same day
 as Karaeng Léngkésé'⁽³⁾ and appears at no time to have
 fought against Léngkésé'. Possibly the need of an end-
 rhyme (and perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of v.52)
 'forced' the line into the author's (or copyist's) mind.

455a Sultan

The Sultan of Gowa.

456d bergandjar

I prefer this reading to 'berkandjar' (possessed
 of a 'chandjar', a form of dagger). It is just possible
 that 'berkandjar' means "having performed the 'kandjar'
 dance" (see note to v.45a), as the dance seems to have

(1) See note to v.54a

(2) Speelman: NOT, p.493. "Tourata" is, of course,
 Turatéa, where Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala' had
 their seats.

(3) DAG, entry under 15 June 1668 (p.103).

amounted to the taking of an oath of loyalty to the Sultan before doing battle against his enemies - a meaning that would fit in with the context. However, the 'berkandjar' ceremony (in the sja'ir at least, see vv. 45-64) appears to have been something of a solo effort, performed by noblemen.

On the other hand, the rewarding of one's troops before the battle (to ensure their loyalty in the coming fight)⁽¹⁾ was a common practice in Indonesian warfare, common enough, for example, to be parodied in the Balinese 'Jaya Prana'.⁽²⁾

471b talu

Although not given in Wilkinson: MED the word, occurring as it does in the Kota Kapur inscription of Caka 608 (A.D.686) must be one of the oldest authenticated Malay words.⁽³⁾

472b gedung Inggeris

The English lodge was situated a little to the north of Udjung Pandang, i.e. about 4 km. north of Sombaopu.⁽⁴⁾

(1) cf. v.282.

(2) Hooykaas: LJP, p.57 (v.62 and note). vv. 309-313 of our sja'ir show both sides rewarding their troops.

(3) Coedès: IMC, p.48 (the word occurs in line 5 and line 7 of the inscription). Coedès translates as "chatié".

(4) Valentijn: ONO plate 22 (between p.138 and p.139): Stapel: HBV, p.63.

476c Datu' L-n-ng

Unknown. This is probably a more correct spelling of the name of the person referred to in v.276b.

481a Sambung Djawa

Between Sombaopu and Udjung Pandang

484d luka bahunja

Stapel records that Palakka was wounded in the fighting of April, 1668⁽¹⁾ and it may be this that is referred to here.

487b Tuwadjo'

"Tu-" (i.e. 'men of') Wadjo', the Bugis state north of Bone and east of Soppéng. The Wadjo' Chronicle declares, with truth, that, when the VOC attacked Macassar "Alle onderhorigheden van Goa werden afvallig, en alleen met Wadjo' was Goa nog samen, want Wadjo' slechts wilde niet afvallig worden."⁽²⁾ The Wadjorese remained loyal to Macassar throughout both VOC campaigns, and as late as May, 1669, the Macassarese were still obtaining reinforcements from Wadjo'.⁽³⁾ The Wadjo' Chronicle states that "Vijfhonderd drie Wadjorezen waren gesneuveld toen Sombaopu (here probably referring to the town of Macassar: C.S.) veroverd werd",⁽⁴⁾ apart

(1) Stapel: CJS, p.49.

(2) Noorduyt: KWA, p.275 (Bugis text on p.274).

(3) Stapel: CJS, p.56. See also Noorduyt: KWA, p.122

(4) Noorduyt: KWA, p.275 (Bugis text on p.274).

from losses elsewhere.

490b di Sambung Djawa

The storming of Sambung Djawa described in this and subsequent verses took place in October, 1668.⁽¹⁾

499d Madjanang

The text has "m-n-dj-ng". I conjecture "Ma(n)djanang" (see note to v.276a), either by metathesis, or by the omission of the second 'n'.

501d Balang Baru

The text has "b-l-ng b-ū-r-ā-h", which I take to be a corruption (by metathesis) of "Balang Baru(h)" - a locality apparently quite close to Sambung Djawa⁽²⁾ and hence in the vicinity of the fighting referred to here.

502a Keraéng Djaranika

A letter from Speelman to Batavia records that Karaéng Djarannika led a fierce Macassar attack upon the "Schelvis" (that was lying moored close to the shore) on the night of the 12th-13th May, 1669.⁽³⁾ It seems likely that it is this attack that is referred to in this

(1) Ligtvoet: DVG, entry under 12 October, 1668, (p.129.)

(2) See DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p.275)

(3) DAG, entry under 30th May, 1669 (p.331.)

and subsequent verses. For the comparison with Bhima, see note to v.331a.(1)

509c menggali lubang malam dan siang

The storming of the stockade at Sambung Djawa on October 12th, 1669, had not been without cost and two days later Speelman, with forces diminishing daily (due more to disease than battle), thought it politic to enter into peace negotiations. These were unsuccessful, as were similar overtures made a month later. About the beginning of November, Macassarese victories over Bugis forces in the Maros area seem to have given Macassar fresh heart, and a third attempt by Speelman to negotiate (in February, 1669) was also unsuccessful. With the arrival of fresh reinforcements Speelman went over to the attack, and by the middle of April, 1669, had reduced the Macassarese to the fort of Sombaopu and the town of Gowa. Speelman proceeded to mine his way forward, and by the middle of June had succeeded in laying mines under the walls of Sombaopu. It seems unlikely that the idea of laying mines originated with Palakka.(2)

-
- (1) The comparison was apparently a popular one in Malay literature. In the 'Sja'ir Hémop', Radén Narimat is described as "mengamuk seperti laku Sang Bima" (Rusconi: SKW, p.101, distich 3235).
- (2) Stapel: CJS, p.54-56.

510c Déwata

The use of the word here is perhaps indicative of the comparative recentness of Macassar's acceptance of Islam (cf. the use of the words "Dewata Mulia Raya" in the 'Hikayat Seri Rama' commented on by Winstedt: HML, p.28.)

511a Terbakar oléhnja kota Mengkasar

The mines (see note to v.509c) were sprung early on the morning of the 15th June. (1)

512a kota Mengkasar

The bitter and bloody struggle for the fort made a deep impression, not only upon the Macassarese, but also on the Dutch. A hundred years after Sombaopu had been destroyed, the heroine of Onno Zwier van Haren's tragedy "Agon, Sulthan van Bantam" ('Fathema, prinses van Makasar') urges her suitor first to avenge by destroying Batavia,

"en geef my dan de keur t'ontvangen uwe hand
of op dat bloedig puy, of op Samboepo's strand.." (2)

(1) Stapel: JCS, p.56.

(2) du Perron: MJC, p.196.

512b enam depa

I take this to refer to the size of the breach blown in the walls of the fort. According to Stapel, the springing of the mines had blown a breach "van ruim 5 roeden wijd".⁽¹⁾ Estimating a "roede" at about 12 feet,⁽²⁾ this would mean a breach of about 60 feet.

512d sebentar

Something of an understatement, as is indicated in the next line.

513a Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji

The mine was sprung on the morning of June 15th and the VOC at once attacked. Very heavy fighting ensued and went on continuously so that it was mid-day on the 17th before Speelman was able to establish anything like a lodgement in the fort area. Fighting continued virtually without a break, and it was only on June 19th that the wall of the main defensive position was stormed. Even then, the battle still raged furiously and very heavy "street-fighting" went on with every house having to be taken by storm. It was not until late on the evening of June 24th that the whole of Sombaopu was in the hands of the VOC.⁽³⁾

(1) Stapel: CJS, p.56.

(2) WNT described the length of a 'roede' as varying between $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 metres.

(3) Stapel: CJS, p.56-57.

513d lari ke Gowa membawa diri

After the reduction of Sombaopu the Macassarese, still defiant, retreated on Gowa, and it was not until Speelman had indicated (on June 30th) that he was prepared to open negotiations, that the Macassarese Karaéngs acknowledged defeat. (1)

515d kedalam kota

If the narrative were in strict chronological order, 'kota' here should refer to some stockade in the town of Gowa, but it seems likely that the author means Sombaopu. Within the fort itself were two main defensive positions (one commanding the approach by sea and the other built around the royal palace), each of which might well merit the title of 'kota' and it is possible that the line is meant as an equivalent of line 517a, with 'kota' as the palace-bastion.

517a masuk kedalam

I take it that in the light of v.518c 'dalam' here refers not to the royal palace in Gowa, but to the royal palace within the Fort of Sombaopu. Although the walls of the fort had been occupied by June 19th, it was

(1) Stapel: CJS, p.57-59.

not until the 24th that the whole of Sombaopu was captured. During the last few days of the fighting, Macassarese resistance centred around the palace, the 'dalam'. (1)

519c segala Melaju tiada mufakat

It is not certain what exactly it was that the Malays refused to agree with. One would expect it to refer to a Macassarese decision to carry on fighting but it may have been just the reverse. Speelman had noted an exodus of Malays from Macassar just after his April attack. (2) This would presumably have left only the 'hard-core' Malays to carry on the fight. The Malays, however, as playing a dominant role in Macassar's trade, had a great deal to lose in the event of a VOC victory.

520c fatar

I have taken this to be derived from the Arabic root "f-t-r" (to subside, to flag, to languish). It is, of course, common for Malay writers to apologise for physical as well as poetical defects (cf. v. 531 and v.533).

(1) Stapel: CJS, p.57.

(2) Stapel: CJS, p.56.

522a lima tahun

This would appear to be an exaggeration, at least from the VOC point of view. War was declared on November 2nd, 1666, and was finally concluded by the "Nader Poincten" drawn up in July 1669, making a total of almost four years.

523c djikalau tidak ra'jatnja lapar

This was no mere excuse. Blockade had been one of Speelman's strongest weapons. While the VOC fleet held control of the seas, the Bugis forces were active in seizing and destroying Macassar's rice-fields inland.⁽¹⁾

On April 5th, Speelman wrote to Batavia "datter van den vyandt velen van honger stierven"⁽²⁾ while all captives and deserters to the VOC were "verhongerde menschen, miserabel om aen tesien, alleen met et vel over de bloote beenen overtrocken".⁽³⁾

526d disebatkan

Although "sebat" is usually taken in the sense "to beat, to thrash", the following line ("téwas perangnja karena lapar") suggests that the word here has the meaning "blockade(d)".

(1) Stapel: CJS (see especially p.55).

(2) DAG, entry under 27th April, 1669 (p.310)

(3) Quoted by Stapel: CJS, p.56.

Apart from the sound similarity with the words such as "sekat", Wilkinson: MED gives as a secondary meaning of the word "a choking feeling caused by an obstruction in the nose or throat", suggesting that one of the basic ideas behind the word is the idea of 'obstructing blocking'.

529c kertas Tjina

Although giving "dawat China" (as 'Indian ink'), Wilkinson: MED does not give "kertas China". The adjectival "Tjina" may be used here to indicate paper specially 'sized' (i.e. glazed and stiffened), but may be no more than a vague term to indicate a good reputable type of paper (paper being a Chinese invention).⁽¹⁾

531a mengikut pajuh

The text has "m-ng-î-k-û-t p-â-j-û" so that while "mengikut" appears certain, the second word might be read "paju" (price, value) or "pajau" (brackish-tasting). The verse as a whole obviously contains the usual self-deprecation (of both physical and mental abilities)

(1) See Carter: IPC, especially Chapter 1.

of the Malay author, (1) so it is likely that something of the same nature is intended by this rather mysterious phrase. In view of the phrase "badan jang lelai" (v.531c) I have taken it that a parallel phrase was intended here, and conjecture an alternative spelling, or a copyist's error, for "pajuh" (slim, thin, lissom) and take the line to mean "in composing the poem I grew thinner and thinner" (as a result of my sufferings).

(1) in fact, of the Indonesian author in general, cf. Hooykaas: LJP, p.33-34.

A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

WORDS DISCUSSED IN THE 'NOTES'.

(The reference, in brackets, is to the verse and line.)

adjla (4a)

(aru) mengaru (47a)

asma (26b)

bagé (56a)

bagong (237b)

bain (93d)

(balas) memalas (150b)

béla (37a)

(belah) membelah (121b)

(bengkal) kebengkalan (149d)

béta((233d)

Daéng (42a)

dari (307b)

(djelus) mendjelus (124d)

fatar (520c)

gerak (121a)

(kaim) see 'qā'im'.

kamsol (37c)

(kantjing) berkantjing (210d)

Karé (42a)

(karunia) dikarunia (200a)

(kélok) berkélok (437d)

kéring (423b)

kuffār (9c)

kunhi (zat) (2b)

(la'lang) berla'lang (191d)

(lata) melata-lata (256c)

legah dan leguh (98b)

(mabur) dipermaburi (398b)

mamang (242b)

mastūrî (189c)

(mimpi) bermimpi puasa (89b)

mistar (256d)

muchtasar (67d)

mukamil (146d)

musta'ib (165b)

muttasil (1c)

pakur (191c)

pélang (162a)

(puasa) see (mimpi)

qā'im (412d)

(rantai) dirantaikan (229a)

sarean (339d)

(sebat) disebatkan (526d)

serau (126a)

sindir (26c)

sunderik (46b)

talū (471b)

terbang (perada terbang) (162c)

turang(-berturang) (182d)

tjilo-tjilo (175d)

Tjina (kertas Tjina) (529c)

tjorék (385d)

tjutjuk (52c)

wasil (146c)

waswis ? (262d)

Welandā (29b)

APPENDIX B.INDEX OF PROPER NAMES OCCURRING IN THE SJA IR

The numbers are those of the verse(s) in which the word occurs.

Where a proper name is used constantly in a general sense (e.g. 'Bugis', 'Welandu' in v.30) only the verse in which the word first occurs is listed.

Except for a few very common names, a note will be found (in the 'Notes') on the first mention of a particular person or place.

This index does not include mythological characters (such as 'Maharadja Rawana' etc.)

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'Ali	12
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(orang) Ambon	134, etc.
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B

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G

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I

(Fétor) Inggeris: see also 193, 262, 265
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and "Mister Pil"

K

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L

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P

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R

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U

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'Uthman	11

W

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APPENDIX C.A NOTE ON MAPS(A) Sketches, plans, etc.Stapel: HBV

- (a) p.63. Sketch map of Macassar. Date appears to be c.1650. Although there is no acknowledgement by Stapel, this map is taken from IJzerman: EEN, p.354.
- (b) end-paper 'Kaart van het oorlogsterrein in de jaren 1666-68'. Covers the Celebes, Bangga and Sula islands.

Wieder: MCA

- (a) Plate 113. Panoramic view of Macassar. Of little use compared with (b), upon which it appears to be based.
- (b) Plates 115, 116. Fine panorama of Macassar, dating from 1638. Shows clearly the position of Sombaopu between the river mouths. (Valentijn: ONO, plate 23 is merely a smaller and slightly less skilful reproduction of these plates.)

(B) Maps.

1. USA Army Maps in Series 'Celebes, N.E.I. 1:50,000'

("Photolithographed and reprinted from a Dutch map dated 1924") Sheets 74/XXXIV-B and 74/XXXIV-D. These two sheets between them cover the area 12° 30' - 12° 40' East (meridian of Batavia/Djakarta), 5° 00' - 5° 20' South, and are easily the most detailed of the modern maps.

2. British Admiralty Chart 1293 - "Approach to Macassar"

Covers the area 118° 56' - 119° 31' East, 4° 52' - 5° 45' South. Is useful for the coastal area south of Macassar, as far as the Bay of Laikang.

A P P E N D I X D
B I B L I O G R A P H Y

Ali (Radja, al-Hadjdj)

TNF: Tuhfat al-nafis, edited by R. O. Winstedt. (JMBRAS, 10 (2), 1932.)

Alisjahbana (S.T.)

PBA: Poeisi Baroe, Djakarta, 1946. (Subsequently reprinted as "Puisi Baru".)

(Aru Palakka)

APA: De levensgeschiedenis van Aru Palaka (TNI, 19th year, part 2, p. 86-105, 185). Although not signed, the article is apparently written by W. P. Van Hoeffell.

Bassett (D.J.)

DAT: Review of Glamann: DAT (in "Journal of Southeast Asian History" (Singapore), Vol. I, No. 1 (March, 1960), p. 95-96.)

EIC: The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam, 1602-1682 (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1955.)

(Bibliotheca Marsdenia)

BMA: Bibliotheca Marsdenia, London, 1827.

Bloch (B.) and Trager (G.L.)

OLA: Outline of Linguistic Analysis (Linguistic Society of America), Baltimore, 1942.

Boswell (J.)

HEB: The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, London, 1785 (edited by G.B. Hill and L.P. Powell, Oxford, 1950.)

JOH: The Life of Samuel Johnson, London, 1791 (edited by G.B. Hill and L.P. Powell, Oxford, 1934.)

Bowra (C.M.)

HEP: Heroic Poetry, London, 1952.

Brown (C.C.)

MAN: Sĕjarah Melayu or Malay Annals, a translation of Raffles ms. 18 (JMBRAS, 25 (2 and 3), 1952).

MAS: Malay Sayings, London, 1951.

SCM: Studies in Country Malay, London, 1956.

Carter (T.F.)

IPC: The Invention of Printing in China and its spread westward, New York, 1925.

Cense (A.A.)

MBG: Enige aantekeningen over Makassaars-Boeginese geschiedschrijving (BKI, 107, p. 42-60, 1951.)

VSJ: De verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid-Celebes (in "Bingkisan Budi" (KBG), p. 50-57, 1950.)

Coedes (G.)

IMC: Les Inscriptions Malaises de Crĕvivijaya (BEFEO, tome XXX, p. 29-80, 1930.)

Colenbrander (H.T.)

COE: Jan Pietersz. Coen, Bescheiden omtrent zijn bedrijf in Indie, Vol.1, 's-Gravenhage, 1919.

Coolhaas (W.Ph.)

COL: Van koloniale geschiedenis en geschiedenis van Indonesia van historici en taalambtenaaren (BKI, 107, p. 135-160, 1951.)

Coolsma (S.)

SHW: Soendaneesch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, Leiden, 1913.

Crucq (K.C.)

BAN: De geschiedenis van het heilig kanon te Banten (TBG, 78 p. 359-391, 1938.)

HKB: De geschiedenis van het heilig kanon te Batavia (TBG, 77, p. 103-129, 1937.)

EKM: De Geschiedenis van het heilig kanon van Makassar (TBG, 81, p. 74-95, 1941.)

(Dagh-Register)

DAG: Dagh-Register gehouden int Gasteel Batavia vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India (year as specified), Batavia.

van Dam (P.)

BOC: Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, Tweede Boek (edited by Dr. F. W. Stapel); unless otherwise specified, all references are to 'Deel I' ('s-Gravenhage, 1931.)

van Dam van Isselt (W.E.)

JVD: Mr. Johan van Dam en zijne tuchting van Makassar in 1660 (BKI, 60, p. 1-44, 1908.)

Damsté (H.T.)

SCV: De slang in de steen en de twee Cornelia's Valentijn (BKI, 109, p. 164-179, 1953.)

Dennys (N.B.)

CMB: A Contribution to Malayan Bibliography, Part II (JSBRAS, 6, p. 225-272, 1880.)

Djajadiningrat (R.A.H.)

ANW: Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Batavia, 1934.

Doorenbos (J.)

GHP: De geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri, Leiden, 1933.

Drewes (G.W.J.)

BUR: Een 16de Eeuwse Maleise Vertaling van de Burda van al-Büsîrî (VKI, 18, 1955.)

IWC: The influence of Western Civilization on the language of the East Indian Archipelago (p. 126-157 of "The Effect of Western Influence on native civilisations in the Malay Archipelago", edited by B. Schrieke, KBG, Batavia, 1929.)

Drewes (G.W.J.) and Voorhoeve (P.)

ATJ: Adat Atjéh (VKI, 24, 1958.)

Eerdmans (A.J.A.F.)

HLG: Het Landschap Gowa (VBG, 50, 1897.)

(Encyclopaedia of Islam.)

EIS: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, 1913-1936.

(Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Oost-Indie.)

ENI: Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Oost-Indie, 's-Gravenhage
1917-1939 (8 Vols. and Supplement.)

Eringa (F.S.)

TEV: Review of Teeuw: TEV (BKI, 109, p. 280-287, 1953.)

Gericke (J.F.C.) and Roorda (T.)

JAV: Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek (revised by
A. C. Vreede and J. G. H. Gunning, Amsterdam/Leiden,
1901, 2 Vols.)

Gibson-Hill (C.A.)

CMA: Notes on the old Cannon found in Malaya and known to be
of Dutch origin (JMBRAS, 26 (1), p. 145-174, 1953.)

Glamann (K.)

DAT: Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620-1740 (Danish Science Press,
Copenhagen/The Hague, 1958.)

Goris (R.)

BAL: Bali, Atlas Kebudajaan (Djakarta, no date, ? c.1950.)

Groneman (J.)

GAR: De Garëbëg's te Ngajogyakartã, 's-Gravenhage, 1895.

von Grunebaum (G.E.)

ISL: Islam - Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural
Tradition (The American Anthropologist, Vol. 57, No. 2,
Memoir No. 81, April, 1955.)

MIS: Medieval Islam, A Study of Cultural Orientation,
2nd edition, Chicago, 1953.

Hall (D.G.E.)

SEA: A History of South-East Asia (London, 1955.)

Hardjowirogo (R.)

SWP: Sedjarah Wajang Purwa, Djakarta, 1952 (2nd. edition.)

Harrison (B.)

SEA: South-East Asia (London, 1955.)

van Heekeren (H.R.)

STO: The Stone Age of Indonesia (VKI, 21, 1957.)

Heeres (J.E.)

CDN: Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum, unless otherwise
stated, all references are to Part 2 (1650-1675)
BKI, 87, 1931.)

(Hikajat Sang Boma)

HSB: (Hikajat) Sang Boma, 3rd edition, Djakarta, 1953.

de Hollander (J.J.)

HMT: Handleiding bij be oefening der Maleische Taal en
Letterkunde, 6th (revised) edition, Breda, 1893.

Hooker (E.N.) and Swedenberg (H.T.jr.)

WJD: The Works of John Dryden, Vol.1, Poems, 1649-1680,
Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1956.

Hooykaas (C.)

LIM: Literatuur in Maleis en Indonesisch, Groningen, 1952.

LJP: The Lay of Jaya Prana, London, 1958.

OML: Over Maleise Literatuur, Leiden, 2nd edition, 1947.

PER: Perintis Sastra (Djakarta, 1953) 2nd edition.

(Indonesian version of OML, translated by
Raihoel Amar gl. Datoek Besar.)

Husain Manaf

ICH: Ensiklopedi Islam "Ichtisari" (Djakarta, 1958.)

Ibrahim (Muhammad, bin 'Abdullah, Munsji)

KPI: Kissah Pelajaran Muhammad Ibrahim Munsji (Arabic script), 2nd edition, Johore Bahru, 1956.

Iskandar (Teuku)

HIK: De Hikajat Atjéh (VKI, 26, 1958.)

Ijzerman (J.W.)

EEN: Het schip "De Eendracht voor Makassar in December 1616 (BKI, 78, p. 343-372, 1922.)

(Java Records)

JAV: Java Records of the East India Company (ms.) in the Library of the India Office, London.

Johns (A.)

MSU: Malay Sufism, as illustrated in an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts (JMBRAS, 30 (2), 1957.)

Jourdain (J.)

JOU: The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617 (edited by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, No. 16), Cambridge, 1905.

Juynboll (H. H.)

CMS: Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Hss. der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Leiden, 1899.

Kern (W.)

ASH: Aantekeningen op de Sja'ir Hémop (Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina) TBG, 82, p. 212-257, 1948.)

CSK: Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai (VKI, 19, 1956.)

KVK: De Kroniek van Koetai (review) (TBG, 77, p. 294-314, 1937.)

Klinkert (H.C.)

HPD: Hikajat Pelandoek Djinaka, Leiden, 1885.

MNW: Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Leiden, 1916 (reprinted 1947.)

Lebai (Nik)

KEL: Report on the disposition of forces in the Kota Bahru area (ms. letter, Wachirayan National Library, Bangkok, Section 3/1201, No. 281.)

van Leur (J.C.)

AEC: Eenige aantekeningen betreffende de mogelijkheid der 18e eeuw als categorie in de Indische geschiedschrijvin (TBG, 80, p. 544-567, 1940.)

GNI: Review of Stapel: GNI (TBG, 79, p. 589-595, 1939.)

IGE: Enkele aantekeningen met betrekking tot de beoefening der Indische geschiedenis (KOL, 21, p. 651-661, 1937.)

Levy (R.)

PER: The Persian Language, London, 1951.

Ligtvoet (A.)

DVG: Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Te met vertaling en aantekeningen (BKI, 28, p. 1-259, 188) Unless otherwise mentioned all references are to the Dutch translation.

van der Linden (A.L.V.L.)

EML: De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur, Meppel, 1937.

Mangemba (H.D.)

SUL: Kenallah Sulawesi Selatan, Djakarta, 1956.

Marrison, (G.E.)

GMA: The Chams of Malacca (JMBRAS, 24 (1), p. 90-98, 1951.)

MPO: A Malay Poem in Old Sumatran Characters (JMBRAS, 24(1), p. 162-165, 1951.)

Marsden (Mrs. S.)

MEM: A brief Memoir of.....William Marsden, by his widow, London, 1838.

Marsden (W.)

GML: a Grammar of the Malay Language, London, 1812.

Matthes (B.F.)

MBK: De Makassaarsche en Boegineesche Kotika's (TBG, 18, p. 1-38, 1864.)

MCH: Makassaarsche Chrestomathie, Amsterdam, 1860.

MHW: Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, Amsterdam, 1859.

MSP: Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Amsterdam, 1858.

Mees (C.A.)

KVK: De Kroniek van Koetai, Santpoort, 1935.

Monier-Williams (M.)

SED: A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1899, (reprinted 1956.)

Newbold (T.J.)

PSA: Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839.

Nieman (G.K.)

GTA: Geschiedenis van Tanette, Boegineesche text met aantekeningen, 's-Gravenhage, 1883.

van Nieuwenhuijze (C.A.O.)

SVP: Sjamsu'l-dîn van Pasai, Leiden, 1945.

Noorduyn (J.)

KWA: Een achttiende-Eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo', 's-Gravenhage, 1955.

Nooteboom (C.)

VMA: Vaartuigen van Mandar (TBG, 80, p. 22-33, 1940.)

Pané (A.)

MIL: Kort Overzicht van de Moderne Indonesische Literatuur, Djakarta, 1949 (originally appeared in "De Fakkel", July-August, 1941.)

du Perron (E.)

MJC: De Muze van Jan Compagnie, 2nd edition, Bandung, 1948.

Pigeaud (Th.)

JNH: Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek, Groningen, 1947
(2nd edition.)

Pijnappel (J.)

MLB: De Maleische Hss. der Leidsche Bibliotheek (BKI, 17,
p. 142-178, 1870.)

Ploetz (K.)

EWB: An Encyclopaedia of World History (compiled and edited
by W. L. Langer, London, 1940.)

Purwadarminta (W.J.S.)

KUB: Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia, Djakarta, 1952. (Since
reprinted.)

van Ronkel (Ph.S.)

MAL: Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van
het (K)BG (VBG, 57, 1909.)

SUP: Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche
Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek
Leiden, 1921.

Runciman (S.)

HCR: A History of the Crusades, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1957.

Rusconi (J.)

SKW: Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina,
Wageningen, 1935.

Sainsbury (E.B.)

CCM: A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India
Company, 1668-1670, Oxford, 1929.

Salmun, (M.A.)

PDP: Padalangan di Pasoendan, Djakarta, 1948.

Shellabear (W.G.)

HSR: Hikayat Sri Rama (JSBRAS, 70, 1915.)

Sibree (J.)

MBG: Madagascar before the Conquest, London, 1896.

(Sja'ir Perang Siak)

SPS: Sja'ir Perang Siak (I) (ms. Kl. 154 in the Leiden University Library.) See van Ronkel: SUP, p. 85.

Skinner (C.)

PMB: Prosa Melayu Baharu, London, 1959.

Snouck Hurgronje (C.)

ACH: The Achehnese, translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan, London, 1906 (2 Vols.)

Speelman (C.J.)

NOT: Notitie dienende voor eenen korte tijd en tot nader last van de hooge Regeeringe op Batavia... (ms. (Aanwinsten, Eerste Afdeeling, 1926, Nr. 1, sections 10 and 11) in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage..)

Stapel (F.W.)

CJS: Cornelis Janszoon Speelman, 's-Gravenhage, 1936 (reprinted from BKI, 94, p. 1-227, 1936.)

GNI: Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indie, Vol. III, Amsterdam, 1939.

HBV: Het Bongaais Verdrag, Groningen, 1922.

Teeuw (A.)

ROM: De Maleise Roman (in "Forum der Letteren", May, 1960, p. 108-119.)

TEV: Taal en Versbouw (Inaugural Lecture), Amsterdam, 1952.

Thaib (M. glr. St. Pamoentjak)

KBM: Kamoes Bahasa Minangkabau-Bahasa Melajoe Riau, Batavia, 1935.

Tideman (J.)

TBA: De Toe Badjeng en de Legende omtrent hun oorsprong (BKI, 60, p. 488-500, 1908.)

van der Toorn (J.L.)

MSK: Minangkabausche Spraakkunst, 's-Gravenhage, 1899.

Tromp (S.W.)

USK: Uit de Salasila van Koetei (BKI, 37, p. 1-108, 1888.)

Valentijn (F.)

ONO: Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, Dordrecht, 1724-1725 (unless otherwise stated, references are to the "III^{de} Deel, 2^{de} boek".)

Veth (P.)

BWA: Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling, Zaltbommel, 1854.

Voorhoeve (P.)

LIM: List of the Indonesian Mss. in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1951 (typescript.)

von de Wall (H.)

MNW: Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (edited by H.N. van der Tuuk, Batavia, 1877-1884.)

Wehr (H.)

ARW: Arabisches Wörterbuch (für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart) Leipzig, 2 Vols. 1952.

Werndly, (G.H.)

MSK: Maleische Spraakkunst, Amsterdam, 1736.

Wieder (F.C.)

MCA: Monumenta Cartographica, 's-Gravenhage, 1925-1933.

Wilkinson (R.J.)

MED: A Malay-English Dictionary (romanised), Mytilene, 1932 (reprinted Tokyo, 194?.)

Winstedt (R.O.)

HML: A History of Malay Literature (JMBRAS, 17 (3), 1939 (actually published 1940.))

SEJ: The Malay Annals or Séjarah Melayu (JMBRAS, 16 (3), 1938.)

TMM: The Malay Magician, London, 1951.

(Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal)

WNT: Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, 's-Gravenhage, Leiden, commenced 1882.

Worm von Döblen (J.G.)

OIP: Ost-Indian-und Persianische Reisen (edited by Pastor Weis, 1745.)

Zainal-'Abidin (bin Ahmad)

FES: Malay Festivals, and some aspects of Malay Religious Life (JMBRAS, 22 (1), p. 94-106, 1949.)

A P P E N D I X EABBREVIATIONS USED

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal -, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (KI.)
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malayan Branch (RAS.)
JSBRAS	Journal of the Straits Branch (RAS.)
KI	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
KBG	Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
KOL	Koloniale Studiën.
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society.
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KBG.)
TNI	Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch-Indië.
VBG	Verhandeling(en) (KBG.)
VKI	Verhandeling(en) (KI.)
VOC	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Generale Nederlandsche Geootroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie.)